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To Our Readers

By the People.

The Democratic race may be decided by superdelegates. They should follow the voters, not defy them

JAMES MADISON, THE ARCHITECT OF THE CONSTITUTION, always maintained that America was not a democracy but a republic. A democracy was government by the people (something many of the founders considered akin to mob rule), while a republic, Madison wrote in "Federalist No. 10," is "a government in which the scheme of representation takes place."

This scheme of representation is where it gets tricky. The inherent tension in a representative democracy is, Should our elected leaders vote according to their judgment—or their constituency? Political theorists have debated this for two centuries. These days, you generally hear candidates say we should choose them for their judgment; they don't say, Vote for me, and I'll vote the way you tell me to. "I don't listen to polls," candidates boast, but polls are the way the people speak to their officials—and if you simply substitute the words *the people* for the word *polls*, candidates would be saying "I don't listen to the people."

So, who should the 796 superdelegates in the Democratic Party listen to? A group of Representatives, Senators, governors, party members and ex-officials, these folks represent 20% of all the delegates needed to be nominated but are not bound to vote according to any constituency. Exactly none of them were elected by primary voters to be delegates. The superdelegates were created in 1982 to bring some power back to the party establishment after the primary process had gotten a little too democratic and unruly—and had succeeded in nominating some uncontrollable candidates for the general election.

But until this year, nobody much cared about the superdelegates. They were superfluous. A nominee can win—and usually does—without the vote of a single superdelegate. Since the inception of superdelegates, no race has ever been as close as this year's contest between Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama or gone this long without being decided. So there was no reason to think these party insiders might have to resolve it at the convention. But that's the scenario being raised now.

And that is the problem. We like our leaders to have

won a majority of the vote. The difficulty will come if one of the candidates wins a majority of the delegates during the primaries and caucuses but not enough to win the nomination. What should the superdelegates do? If they combine to elect the candidate who came in second, voters would feel cheated and suspect the whole process was undemocratic. Democratic voters remember those feelings from 2000.

Primaries are not necessarily meant to be democratic. They are the creation of the political parties and are in effect private clubs run by the members, who decide the rules. But if the Democratic Party wants to have a strong future and retain all those young voters coming

out for the first time, the results need to seem and actually be democratic with a small *d*.

The good news is that the superdelegate conundrum is likely to resolve itself without much drama. The thing to remember about superdelegates is that they are pols—and tend not to be all that independent-minded anyway. The last thing they want is to act as referees who call the winner of a grueling 15-round championship fight. In fact, for most of the superdelegates, choosing—in

public—between the heroine of one set of Democratic voters and the hero of a different set is a nightmare. What is most likely is that the superdelegates will stay on the fence. They will sit tight as the voters of Wisconsin and Ohio and Texas and Pennsylvania go to the polls and hope the voters themselves resolve things, as they should. As Yale political scientist Donald Green says, "We are deeply suspicious of anything that does not ultimately trace its institutional roots back to an election." And there is no doubt that we have a real election going on.



Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

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10 Questions.

For more than 16 years, he has cross-examined politicians and newsmakers as host of *Meet the Press*. In this election, his studio is still the premier hot seat in politics.

Tim Russert will now take your questions

Don't you just want to scream in interviews when politicians spin a direct question?

John Holecek

ST. PETERSBURG, FLA.

Yes. [Laughs.] But my fear is if I did that, then I would be seen as becoming part of the interview in a way that I don't want to be. Many times a politician will try to goad [you] into a debate because then it neutralizes the questioner and you surrender your objectivity.

Do you have strong political views, or have you found the ability to rise above it all?

Carole Ramsay

MORRIS PLAINS, N.J.

Lawrence Spivak, who founded *Meet the Press*, told me before he died that the job of the host is to learn as much as you can about your guest's positions and take the other side. And to do that in a persistent and civil way. And that's what I try to do every Sunday. My views are not important.

Are there books that you've read that inform your approach to the political process?

R.L. Brown, RICHMOND, VA.

The classics are very important to me. *All the Kings Men*, *Advise and Consent*, *The Prince*. The most interesting thing for me is watching or reading the 60 years of *Meet the Press*. I am very taken by how many times the issues and the rhetoric constantly repeats itself.

Do you get any enjoyment out of skewering politicians?

Tom Hale, NEW YORK CITY

I don't believe I do that, and that's certainly not my goal.



What I try to do is elicit information. Sometimes it means asking a question two or three times. I recognize that I'm persistent. If a politician wants to offer bromides, they can buy a 30-second commercial.

Is there anyone you want to interview whom you haven't yet?

Andy Green, CLINTON, IOWA
I've interviewed every major political figure. I'd like to have a conversation with Bruce Springsteen. I earned

my way through law school by booking a Springsteen concert in 1974.

Does the drama that unfolds onstage continue offstage?

Memi Sofer

BE'ER SHEVA, ISRAEL
Many times the atmosphere in the studio is very tense. A candidate will come in and not have much to say beforehand. Many times, when we go to a break, nothing is said. It depends on the guest.

Do the media have an ethical responsibility to cover each and every presidential candidate?

Linda Tidrick

HUNTINGTON, CONN.

Initially, But the voters make some decisions relatively quickly as to who are the more serious candidates. When it gets down to a point, I think it's very fair for a news organization to make an editorial judgment that some candidates have a more serious claim on a nomination than others.

How does a regular person get to the underlying truth of all the candidates' claims?

Keith Parmentier

WESTLAND, MICH.

I think it's imperative that you try. The best way is to watch programs like *Meet the Press* and the other Sunday programs. I'm a great believer of watching C-SPAN. The more information you can learn, the more complete your judgment will be.

Is it possible to be your "authentic self" and still run for President?

Mark Schmidt

CINCINNATI, OHIO

I think it is difficult, [but] people are yearning for anyone who will talk to them in a candid and open way, acknowledging that they don't have all the answers but have thought about the problems in an intelligent way.

Your book *Big Russ and Me* is a reverential look at your relationship with your father. Do you and your son share a similar bond?

Eli Wongtrakool

SHARPSVILLE, PA.

It's much different growing up in Washington in 2008 than it was growing up in Buffalo in 1958. But the lessons, I think, are timeless. I'm very close to my son and my father, and for that alone I'm a very blessed man.

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Postcard: Marfa.

A far-flung Texas town stars in two of this year's Oscar-nominated films. Yet a proposed truck route could end its precious seclusion. **The battle to stay off the beaten path**

BY WHITNEY JOINER

THIS FAR WEST TEXAS TOWN IS SO isolated that while you can cross the Mexican border in less than an hour for lunch, the nearest shopping mall is 200 miles (about 320 km) away. Those who live around here take immense pride in the desolate landscape that served as the backdrop for the films with the most Academy Award nominations this year, Joel and Ethan Coen's murderous *No Country for Old Men* and Paul Thomas Anderson's epic *There Will Be Blood*. But instead of buzzing about their potential golden night at the Oscars, locals are more concerned these days with a very real unfolding drama that has the potential to devastate the views, the unpolluted air and the tranquil lifestyle they hold dear.

The potential villain in this story is La Entrada al Pacifico, a NAFTA trade route signed into law 11 years ago by then-governor George W. Bush. It

hasn't been built yet, but it may still become a reality, thanks to lobbying from the nearby city of Midland—which would become a distribution and warehousing hub—and the support of Midland's state representative, who happens to be speaker of the Texas House. If approved and constructed, the route would significantly increase the number of long-haul trucks bringing goods from Mexico through Marfa. In 2006, the average number of trucks crossing the U.S. border at Presidio and being driven the 60 miles (about 100 km) north to Marfa each day was 17. With La Entrada, that number would be anywhere from 300 to 800 trucks a day. To make room, a pair of two-lane roads will be widened to four-lane divided highways. Allison Scott, a 29-year Marfa resident, knows exactly what that will sound like. "Marfa is so peaceful," she says. "When I go out at 5 a.m. and look up at the stars, the silence is just so amazing ... La Entrada would definitely bring the silence to an end."

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Don't tread on us Marfans hope to divert a highway from passing through their town

The idea behind La Entrada al Pacifico (Corridor to the Pacific) is to ease over-concentration of Asian trade in Southern California by diverting goods to a port in western Mexico and transporting them to Midland. Marfans see a plan that could fill Midland's pockets but potentially devastate Marfa's culture, lifestyle and economy, based in large part on tourism thanks to Marfa's proximity to Big Bend National Park and its reputation as an artists' haven (artists and galleries have been a fixture in town since celebrated sculptor Donald Judd relocated here from New York in the '70s).

Days after a March 2007 public meeting on the project, attended by nearly 400 West

Texas residents—none of whom supported it—the fight against La Entrada began. Local businesses sold STOP LA ENTRADA T shirts; residents joined letter-writing campaigns and launched anti-Entrada blogs. Some Marfans have devised creative ways to fight the corridor. Gary Oliver, 60, a political cartoonist for the local newspaper, has composed a protest song on his accordion. "Move to

Marfa for the peaceful life. So far away from the stress and strife," he sings. "Then you put your ear down on the highway floor, / Hear the many trucks in the distance roar ... La Entrada, here come a lot of highway blues."

And Vicente Celis, 42, who moved here from Mexico in 2003, shows off the digital slide show he's developing, *An Inconvenient Truth*-style, to explain La Entrada to other residents. He makes reference to the documentary's swimming-frog example of global warming—the frog that doesn't realize it's boiling because the water temperature increases so slowly. "The same thing is going to happen to us," says Celis. "But [we] don't have to let people boil us."

Residents do have hope. The arrival of massive numbers of 18-wheelers depends on Mexico's infrastructure. So far, work on the trans-Mexican highway hasn't broken ground, and the port in western Mexico needs repair. The results of a government-funded study about how well the plan would work for West Texas will be released soon. But for the locals who see this land as a refuge—and, on occasion, a Hollywood backdrop—the decision to build or not to build isn't even a question. ■

Inbox

An Under-30 Uprising

I ENJOYED READING YOUR ARTICLE "WHY Young Voters Care Again" [Feb. 11]. It is great to see people under 30 enthused about voting in this year's presidential election. I hope they will stay inspired beyond this November. It is important to remember that politics does not end at the voting booth and that the President needs the co-operation of Congress in order to fulfill most campaign promises. Citizens don't have to wait until the next election to make their voices heard, especially if they are unhappy with what is going on.

Robert Hanlon

CHELMSFORD, MASS.

SENATOR BARACK OBAMA SPEAKS of hope, and here is a generation of teens and twenty-somethings finally listening and getting involved, realizing they can help shape the future. The hope Obama speaks of lies not only in the election of a new President but also in the mere fact that the youth of America care. They are our future leaders, and their political participation is just as important to the nation as the election itself is.

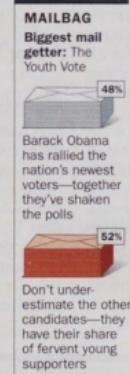
Harmony A. Trevino, Program Coordinator,
Hands of Hope, CYPRESS, CALIF.

'Our biggest Hollywood war heroes, John Wayne and Sylvester Stallone, made sure they were never in the military, much less a real war. I'm no hero, but these guys aren't either.'

Rick Donahoe

YELLOW SPRINGS, OHIO

Costume dramas *Celluloid soldiers* Stallone and Wayne wearing fatigues that aren't exactly government issue



ALTHOUGH OBAMA AND FACEBOOK HAVE helped organize us, they are not the reason we care. We know the importance of a healthy economy because we are starting worldwide companies. We feel the importance of foreign relations because we are serving overseas, staring the enemy in the eye. And we understand the magnitude of global warming because we are the ones who will be here when the ice caps melt. Look at the faces on the cover. Each one says, "I may be young, but I know what I'm doing and where I'm going. Do you?" The candidate who can answer that is the candidate who wins our vote.

Adam Gangelhoff
RAPID CITY, S.D.

OBAMA DOES HAVE A LOT OF youth support, and he seems young, fresh. But you made insufficient note of Senator Hillary Clinton's youth supporters. While many of our organization's members can't vote, we are dedicated to doing everything we can to help elect Clinton. Don't forget that she received a big portion of the youth vote in Florida, where the Democrats agreed not to campaign. Let's look at this race evenly.

Thomas R. Senecal, President,
Teens for Clinton, BOWIE, MD.



HEALTHY SKEPTICISM

Your item on the death of cancer researcher Judah Folkman noted that his peers "dismissed his idea that cancer tumors were dependent on a growing network of blood vessels"

[Jan. 28]. Such skepticism is commonly portrayed as a flaw, when in fact it's the single most valuable skill we can bring to bear on our work. Contrary to popular belief, good scientists don't seek to prove a hypothesis true. We make every possible effort to prove it wrong by subjecting it to the most withering attacks we can dream up. (It's actually great fun.) This refusal to accept a new idea until it has run a gauntlet of testing is the very reason scientific "truth" is so reliable.

Paul G. Fitzgerald, Ph.D., University of California, DAVIS, CALIF.

I COMMEND TIME AND RICK STENGEL FOR recent cover stories recognizing the powerful role that service plays in political engagement, academic achievement and workforce readiness. It is natural for youth to care (and vote) once they understand the issues beyond the schoolyard. The key to expanding this movement is to make sure that young Americans from all backgrounds and every grade have the same opportunity to bring their energy, commitment, idealism and creativity to the big problems facing our country and the world.

Steven A. Culbertson,
President & CEO, Youth Service America
WASHINGTON

AS A 64-YEAR-OLD WIDOWED GRANDMOTHER, I am thrilled that young voters care again. I can't fathom, however, why young women aren't incensed that in the 232-year history of this country, we have never had a woman President. To the young lady who said she wouldn't vote for Clinton because she might lose, I ask, How will you feel 60 years from now when women say they won't vote for your granddaughter because she might lose? If past generations of



Inbox

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ Joe Klein's Feb. 18 In the Arena column included a sentence about Barack Obama's campaign that read, "It has echoes of Howard Dean's 2004 primary effort, although in Dean's case the propellant was neither substance nor the candidate's early, courageous voice against the war." The latter part should have read, "the propellant was substance not rhetoric—the candidate's early, courageous voice against the war."

■ The Feb. 11 article about organ transplants mistakenly reported that surgeons transplanted a kidney along with bone-marrow cells that had been harvested from the patient. In fact, the bone-marrow cells also came from the kidney donor.

women had been so lily-livered, the young lady you quoted wouldn't have had the chance to vote or go to college.

Judith M. Williams, BANGOR, MAINE

The Surge's Shaky Success

MICHAEL DUFFY AND MARK KUKIS WROTE an informative article on why the surge has worked [Feb. 11]. But I feel they overlooked another reason that the violence in Iraq subsided: millions of Iraqi refugees have fled neighborhoods to escape sectarian cleansing. Our military personnel have fought bravely and well during their deployment in Iraq—I'm not calling into question their service—but much of the sectarian violence has stopped simply because in many Iraqi neighborhoods there aren't any enemies left to kill.

Jim Bettag, DE SOTO, MO.

SAYING THAT THE SURGE IS WORKING IS akin to saying we found WMD in Iraq and New Orleans has been rebuilt. The measure of success for the surge was to have been progress in passing legislation in Iraq. Despite the expenditure of billions of dollars and the lost lives of more than 900 brave soldiers and countless Iraqi citizens, very little has been accomplished on the political front.

Larry Nicholl, NAUVOO, ILL.

Tech for Tots

LEV GROSSMAN NEEDN'T FEAR UNNECESSARILY that at 3 his daughter is too young for computer gaming [Feb. 11]. Not all young gamers go on to become computer nerds or serial killers. Computers can be a very positive experience for a young child. We got our first computer in 1988, when our youngest son was 4, and it was love at first sight. He's now 24 and works as a software developer. We always encouraged all his diverse interests; he played varsity soccer and sang in the school choir in high school and spent a student year in Japan when he was in college. With the right parental support, you never know how far a child's early fascination can take him.

Barbara Kelsey, CRYSTAL LAKE, ILL.

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other heart medicines. Taking PLAVIX with your other heart medicines goes beyond what other heart medicines alone can do to keep blood platelets from sticking together and forming dangerous clots.



IMPORTANT INFORMATION: If you have a stomach ulcer or other condition that causes bleeding, you should not use PLAVIX. When taking PLAVIX alone or with some other medicines including aspirin, the risk of bleeding may increase so tell your doctor before planning surgery. And, always talk to your doctor before taking aspirin or other medicines with PLAVIX, especially if you've had a stroke. If you develop fever, unexplained weakness or confusion, tell your doctor promptly as these may be signs of a rare but potentially life-threatening condition called TTP, which has been reported rarely, sometimes in less than 2 weeks after starting therapy. Other rare but serious side effects may occur.

Ask your doctor how PLAVIX can help increase your protection against future heart attack, stroke, and even death. Or visit www.plavix.com or call 1-800-264-7182.

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WHO IS PLAVIX FOR?

PLAVIX is a prescription-only medicine that helps keep blood platelets from sticking together and forming clots.

PLAVIX is for patients who have:

- had a recent heart attack.
- had a recent stroke.
- poor circulation in their legs (Peripheral Artery Disease).

PLAVIX in combination with aspirin is for patients hospitalized with:

- heart-related chest pain (unstable angina).
- heart attack.

Doctors may refer to these conditions as ACS (Acute Coronary Syndrome).

Clots can become dangerous when they form inside your arteries. These clots form when blood platelets stick together, forming a blockage within your arteries, restricting blood flow to your heart or brain, causing a heart attack or stroke.

WHO SHOULD NOT TAKE PLAVIX?

You should NOT take PLAVIX if you:

- are allergic to clopidogrel (the active ingredient in PLAVIX).
- have a stomach ulcer
- have another condition that causes bleeding.
- are pregnant or may become pregnant.
- are breast feeding.

WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY DOCTOR BEFORE TAKING PLAVIX?

Before taking PLAVIX, tell your doctor if you're pregnant or are breast feeding or have any of the following:

- gastrointestinal ulcer
- stomach ulcer(s)
- liver problems
- kidney problems
- a history of bleeding conditions

WHAT IMPORTANT INFORMATION SHOULD I KNOW ABOUT PLAVIX?

TPP: A very serious blood condition called TPP (Thrombotic Thrombocytopenic Purpura) has been rarely reported in people taking PLAVIX. TPP is a potentially life-threatening condition that involves low blood platelet and red blood cell levels, and requires urgent referral to a specialist for prompt treatment once a diagnosis is suspected. Warning signs of TPP may include fever, unexplained confusion or weakness (due to a low blood count, what doctors call anemia). To make an accurate diagnosis, your doctor will need to order blood tests. TPP has been reported rarely, sometimes in less than 2 weeks after starting therapy.

Gastrointestinal Bleeding: There is a potential risk of gastrointestinal (stomach and intestine) bleeding when taking PLAVIX. PLAVIX should be used with caution in patients who have lesions that may bleed (such as ulcers), along with patients who take drugs that cause such lesions.

Bleeding: You may bleed more easily and it may take you longer than usual to stop bleeding when you take PLAVIX alone or in combination with aspirin. Report any unusual bleeding to your doctor.

Geriatrics: When taking aspirin with PLAVIX the risk of serious bleeding increases with age in patients 65 and over.

Stroke Patients: If you have had a recent TIA (also known as a mini-stroke) or stroke taking aspirin with PLAVIX has not been shown to be more effective than taking PLAVIX alone, but taking aspirin with PLAVIX has been shown to increase the risk of bleeding compared to taking PLAVIX alone.

Surgery: Inform doctors and dentists well in advance of any surgery that you are taking PLAVIX so they can help you decide whether or not to discontinue your PLAVIX treatment prior to surgery.

WHAT SHOULD I KNOW ABOUT TAKING OTHER MEDICINES WITH PLAVIX?

You should only take aspirin with PLAVIX when directed to do so by your doctor. Certain other medicines should not be taken with PLAVIX. Be sure to tell your doctor about all of your current medications, especially if you are taking the following:

- aspirin
- nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (NSAIDs)
- warfarin
- heparin

Be sure to tell your doctor if you are taking PLAVIX before starting any new medication.

WHAT ARE THE COMMON SIDE EFFECTS OF PLAVIX?

The most common side effects of PLAVIX include gastrointestinal events (bleeding, abdominal pain, indigestion, diarrhea, and nausea) and rash. This is not a complete list of side effects associated with PLAVIX. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for a complete list.

HOW SHOULD I TAKE PLAVIX?

Only take PLAVIX exactly as prescribed by your doctor. Do not change your dose or stop taking PLAVIX without talking to your doctor first.

PLAVIX should be taken around the same time every day, and it can be taken with or without food. If you miss a day, do not double up on your medication. Just continue your usual dose. If you have any questions about taking your medications, please consult your doctor.

OVERDOSAGE

As with any prescription medicine, it is possible to overdose on PLAVIX. If you think you may have overdosed, immediately call your doctor or Poison Control Center, or go to the nearest emergency room.

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For more information on PLAVIX, call 1-800-633-1610 or visit www.PLAVIX.com. Neither of these resources, nor the information contained here, can take the place of talking to your doctor. Only your doctor knows the specifics of your condition and how PLAVIX fits into your overall therapy. It is therefore important to maintain an ongoing dialogue with your doctor concerning your condition and your treatment.

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PLA-OCT07-B-Aa

Briefing

THE MOMENT



Best in Show. A newcomer with tons of personality takes the prize. Meet the real underdog

THIS HAS BEEN THE SEASON of underdogs, of plot twists and reckonings, a Super Bowl for the ages that saw David smite Goliath, a presidential campaign in which humility has all the momentum, since so many have been so wrong about so much. So it was the natural time for the true underdog to have his moment as well, at the 132nd Westminster Kennel Club Dog Show, where tuxedoed judges bearing shiny trophies descended on Uno, the merry little beagle that became the first of his kind to win Best in Show, ever.

The sold-out crowd at Madison Square Garden whooped and cheered from the moment Uno appeared with the other hounds on the night of Feb. 11, and he *ahhrrrooed* right back, bouncing along, working the ring, his tail sending a draft through the hall. Judges, like all political professionals, are clear-eyed, hardheaded, immune to cuteness and charisma. Was there the curse of condescension toward a breed that has ranked among the top 10 most popular dogs in the U.S. for nearly a century? The saluki was elegant and urbane;

the Plott hound tough and tireless. Dogs, however, are judged not against one another but against perfection, and here, in all its modesty, was magic: Uno became the first beagle to win the hound group since 1939.

Some years, size matters. Remember Josh, the Newfoundland the size of a mini-

This was, the fans declared, a victory for the People's Dog, the dog next door

van, which took the top prize four years ago? Some years are precious and prim, a papillon with attitude. But in this age of Authenticity, the beagle romped past the poodles, all fluffed and clipped, and the

terrier, whose kin have taken Best in Show more than 40 times. Sometimes change beats experience. "I'm lucky to be at the end of his leash," said his trainer, Aaron Wilkerson, as Uno proceeded to chew on the microphones of reporters hoping for an interview.

This was, the fans declared, a victory for the People's Dog, the dog next door, albeit one bred for glory, since Uno is the great granddoggy of a famous champion of the 1990s. With victory come the spoils, steak on a silver platter at Sardi's, a chance to ring the opening bell on Wall Street. Anticipating a rush to beagle breeders, veterans had one piece of advice for would-be parents: Be sure to get a fence first. —BY NANCY GIBBS



ZURICH

Impressionist masterpieces stolen



SEOUL

Arson destroys treasured 610-year-old Namdaemun Gate



ISTANBUL

Ban lifted on Islamic head scarves in univers

Dashboard

WASHINGTON MEMO IS THE U.S. State Department up to the task in Iraq? An adviser wrapping up a tour in Iraq has fired a missive to Ambassador Ryan Crocker that is ricocheting through State Department inboxes. "The Foreign Service is not competent to do the job that they have undertaken in Iraq," wrote Manuel Miranda, who had just finished a year as a civilian advising Iraqi lawmakers on behalf of the U.S. embassy. Miranda accused U.S. diplomats of embracing "an excuse-making culture ... willfully negligent if not criminal" management, a "built-in attention-deficit disorder," and "information hoarding."

Miranda, who had previously served as a go-to aide on Capitol Hill, has a reputation as a fire breather. But in a speech at Georgetown's School of Foreign Service Feb. 12, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice spoke to some of the same problems that Miranda brought up: the training, focus and culture of the Foreign Service need to change, she said.

A batch of recent government and independent studies agree. America's

most urgent foreign policy needs are no longer on the white glove circuit of Europe's capitals but in dangerous conflict zones like Afghanistan and Iraq. The new diplomacy requires development work in postconflict areas, not just reporting the intrigues of foreign capitals. U.S. envoys have balked at the changes, but Rice—finally—is pushing back. She's started dispatching more diplomats to emerging powers like China and India, sent Foreign Service officers to mid-career schools for retraining, and emphasized foreign languages like Farsi, Urdu, Arabic and Chinese. Still, some lawmakers gripe that important new initiatives—including a State Department civilian reserve corps that could help with the dirty work of nation-building when needed—were neglected for too long in the Bush Administration. Leading U.S. efforts abroad is "a place not of privilege and not of entitlement," Rice told the aspiring diplomats at Georgetown. "We must earn it." The Administration's congressional critics couldn't agree more.

—BY BRIAN BENNETT

BY THE NUMBERS

Aboriginal Apology

Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd made a historic formal apology to the nation's Aborigines for a long history of injustices on Feb. 13.

THE HISTORY

Up until about 1970, an estimated 100,000 young Aborigines were forced to leave their families under brutal assimilation policies.

STILL UNRESOLVED

Aboriginal leaders have lobbied for \$880 million in reparations, but Rudd's apology makes no mention of compensation.

HOW IT BREAKS DOWN

In his 360-word apology, Rudd said "sorry" three times. An official commission deemed the assimilation policy genocide in 1997. Today the life expectancy of Aborigines is still 17 years shorter than other Australians. The test will be whether Rudd's powerful symbolism leads to real change.



INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

Cash for Capture

The State Department is so confident that some unnamed Southeast Asian terrorists will be nabbed "in the near future" that its new budget asks for an extra \$6 million to pay for their capture via its Rewards for Justice tips program. There are more than \$704 million of outstanding reward offers worldwide. A few of the region's most-wanted extremists:





WASHINGTON

Clemens, right, testifies in steroid hearing



LONDON

Chinese Lunar New Year celebrated worldwide



'To the mothers and the fathers, the brothers and the sisters, for the breaking up of families ... we say sorry.'

KEVIN RUDD, Australian Prime Minister



UMAR PATEK

Patek is believed to have participated in the 2002 Bali bombings. Bounty: \$1 million



DULMATIN

He is considered one of the key planners of the 2002 Bali bombings. Bounty: \$10 million



ZULKARNAEN

Believed to head the group that killed 12 people in a 2003 suicide bombing at a Jakarta Marriott



NOORDIN TOP

Suspected of planning the 2004 bombing of the Australian embassy in Jakarta, in addition to others



ZULKIFLI BIN HIR

Involved in the planning of a 2006 string of bombings in the Philippines. Bounty: \$5 million



ISNILON HAPILON

Indicted for the 2002 kidnapping of an American from the Philippines. Bounty: \$5 million

ECONOMY

Gift-Card Crisis

The canaries in the coal mine of the next recession may well be gift cards. Usually they provide a post-Christmas bounce for stores, but this year, say big retailers like Wal-Mart, cash-crunched consumers are either saving their holiday gift cards or spending them on necessities like toiletries and school supplies instead of luxuries like iPods and DVDs.

WEAK SALES January retail sales this year were the lowest in nearly four decades for that month. Gift-card sales were up 17% last year across the U.S., but about \$7.8 billion worth (about 8% of all gift cards) have gone unused.

WHY THIS MATTERS Retailers don't make money on gift cards until the cards are redeemed. When purchased, they're recorded as a liability—essentially an interest-free loan. Worse yet for retailers, in some states, if a card is not redeemed after a few years, its value is considered unclaimed property and is required to be turned over to the government.

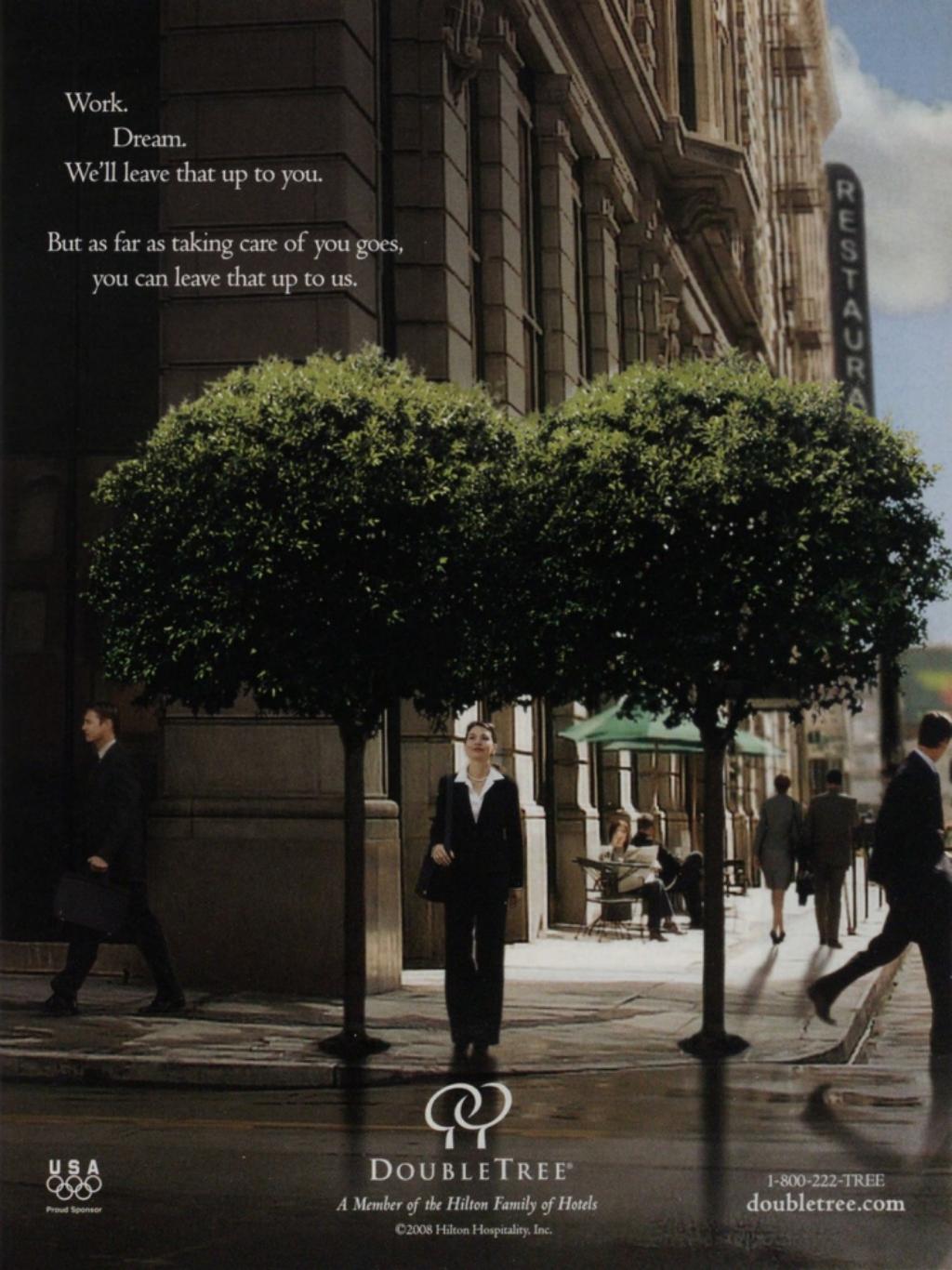
NEGOTIATIONS

Who Won the Writers' Strike?

On Feb. 13, screen- and TV writers resumed work after a long strike that cost the Los Angeles County economy some \$3.2 billion. Unions tentatively agreed to a three-year contract that, among other things, gives writers a piece of the profits from new media like Internet streams and downloads.

WHAT'S NEXT Seems like a Guild victory, but the strike could hurt in the long run. After a 100-day hiatus, studios may be more ready for life without writers.





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Verbatim

'I'd like to thank the Academy for courageously breaking the mold this time.'

HERBIE HANCOCK, jazz musician, on being the first jazz artist in 43 years to win a Grammy Award for Album of the Year



'The only foreign policy thing I remember he said was, he's going to attack Pakistan and embrace Ahmadinejad.'

GEORGE W. BUSH, taking a jab at presidential hopeful Barack Obama



'Today is a moment of truth for Ukraine.'

YULIA TYMOSHENKO, Ukrainian Prime Minister, about negotiations over a disputed energy debt with neighboring Russia. A last-minute settlement averted a midwinter shutdown of Russian natural gas to Ukraine

'You didn't say anything about our trades, did you? Otherwise you're dead meat.'

JEROME KERVEL, rogue Société Générale trader, talking with a broker in an Oct. 11 online chat about risky trades that are believed to have cost the bank \$7.2 billion



'Hey, you try wagging these puppies around a while and see if you don't have back problems.'

DOLLY PARTON, who postponed her upcoming North American tour on doctor's advice to rest her sore back for six to eight weeks

'This government won't fall because of this.'

XANANA GUSMAO, Prime Minister of East Timor, about a shoot-out that wounded the country's President, José Ramos-Horta, and left rebel leader Alfredo Reinado dead



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time.com/quote

Sources: AFP; Huffington Post; AP; International Herald Tribune; Reuters; Independent

NUMBERS

IMMIGRATION

19%

Projected percentage of U.S. population in 2050 who will be foreign-born

1910

Year the percentage of immigrants in the U.S. last reached its highest recorded point—15%

GENDER DIFFERENCES

40%

Percentage of women who closely followed March 2007 news stories on tornadoes in the South and Midwest, compared with only 25% of men. A new study finds that women focus more on stories about weather, health and safety

40%

Percentage of men who closely followed February 2007 stories on tension between the U.S. and Iran; 27% of women tuned in. Men generally favored sports, politics and international affairs

COMMUNICATION

8 million

Number of North American BlackBerry customers whose service was disrupted for more than three hours on Feb. 11



\$1.12

Decrease that day in extended-trading stock price for Research in Motion Inc., BlackBerry's maker

LAW

\$100,000

Bail set for Florida lawyer Kathy Brewer Rentas after she was charged with assault for vigorously shaking the hand of a fellow attorney. An official claims she almost ripped the prosecutor's arm out of its socket

90

Number of days of house arrest given to Rentas' husband—for violating his drug probation—just before she shook the prosecuting attorney's hand

Sources: Pew Research Center; New York Times; Pew Research Center (2); Bloomberg (2); BBC (2)



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IRASC070452

People

Q&A

Talking with Deepak Chopra

The best-selling author and spiritual guru has written more than 50 books. His latest, *The Third Jesus*, comes out Feb. 19.

Your book says we should take a fresh look at the New Testament. Have Christians lost sight of Jesus' message? It happens with any organized religion. Organizations are full of power-mongering bureaucracy, influence-peddling and corruption.

You have argued that God should be a woman. Why?
The next stage of human evolution has to be survival of the wisest, not survival of the fittest. For that we need intuition, compassion and a woman God.

It has been reported that you spoke with Heath Ledger shortly before he died. What was your impression of him? That was slightly misreported. Heath called director Shekhar Kapur, and I was sitting next to him. He missed his girl, but it was nothing over the top—Heath wasn't a depressive person.

You also work with comic books. What brought that on? I grew up reading them and living a mythical life. I think we need to restore mythology for our collective healing. Imagine a Superwoman or Wonder Woman who is the product of an Iraqi and an American. That would bring more healing than all the talk.



Jolie's pitch

The latest stop for U.N. goodwill ambassador **ANGELINA JOLIE**? Baghdad, where she spent her one-day visit to the Green Zone lobbying General David Petraeus and Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki for more aid for Iraq's estimated 2 million internally displaced refugees.



CELEBRITY ROUNDUP

Confirmed. That **JENNIFER LOPEZ** is carrying twins. Her father revealed the news on the Spanish show *Escándalo TV*.

Arrested. HEIDI FLEISS, former Hollywood madam, on drug-possession and DUI charges

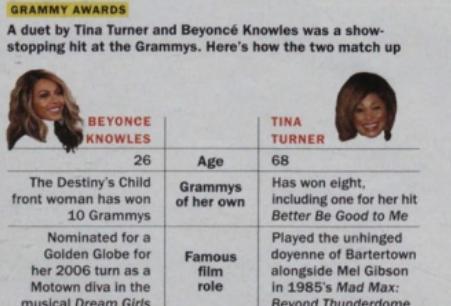
Performed poorly. PARIS
HILTON'S new movie *The Hottie and the Nottie*, grossing only \$26,000 in its first weekend

Honored. The animated film **RATATOUILLE**, with 10 Annie Awards for excellence in animation, by the International Animation Film Society

Entered rehab. **PAT O'BRIEN**, host of entertainment-gossip TV show *The Insider*, for the second time

O-pen for business

OPRAH lovers have a new mecca—Chicago's Oprah Store, which sells souvenirs, clothing, South African crafts and one-of-a-kind items "once worn or treasured by Oprah."



Milestones

DIED HIS DEADLY ALLEGED exploits—a 1985 hijacking that led to the death of a U.S. Navy diver; attacks that killed 200 Americans in Lebanon in the 1980s; the 1992 bombing of Israel's embassy in Argentina—put him on the FBI's most-wanted list. After a car bombing in Damascus, officials announced that Hizballah's **Imad Mughnayih** had been killed. The incident, for which Hizballah blamed Israel (who denied involvement), was a hefty blow to the militant group—it was the first killing of a top leader since 1992. Mughnayih was believed to be 45.



■ IN THE WEEKS AFTER 9/11, TV broadcasters were beacons for edgy viewers. Few were more unflappable than former ABC News chief national-security correspondent **John McWethy**. After a plane crashed into the Pentagon, the Emmy-winning McWethy, then in the building, reported from a nearby lawn. Known

for his fairness, wit, trove of sources and willingness to tell editors they were wrong, he counted among his admirers the most senior members of ABC and the Defense Department. McWethy, recently retired, died after sliding chest-first into a tree while skiing. He was 60.

■ HE HAD ONE OF THE MOST famous lines in movie history. As police chief Brody in the 1975 blockbuster *Jaws*, **Roy Scheider** at last sees the 25 foot great white and says to shark hunter Quint, "You're gonna need a bigger boat." The ex-boxer first got attention, and an Oscar nomination, as Gene Hackman's police partner in *The French Connection* and proved he could be vulnerable as choreographer Joe Gideon in Bob Fosse's semiautobiographical *All That Jazz*, a role for which he had to learn to dance. The film, Scheider's favorite, won him critical raves and another Oscar nod. He was 75 and had blood cancer.

■ THE ORDER OF MALTA, AN ancient-Rome-based humanitarian entity whose senior members are knights and other nobles, aids victims of war and disaster, issues its own passports and holds diplomatic ties with 100 nations. In 1988 **Andrew Bertie**, a



Bertie, at right



Grant's images

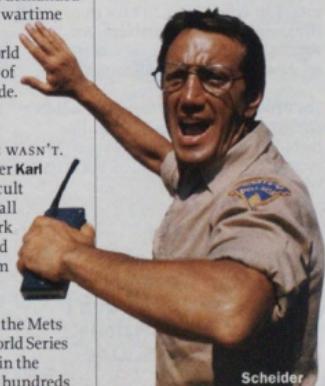
descendant of Britain's royal Stuarts, became its first British grand master since 1258. The journalist turned teacher upped membership, expanded relief efforts and doubled diplomatic missions. He was 78.

■ WHEN HE WAS 16, THE NAZIS occupied his native Hungary. Years after escaping death camps and fighting Nazis underground, **Tom Lantos** became the only Holocaust survivor to serve in the U.S. Congress. The visible, sometimes blunt 14-term California Democrat, whose mother perished in the war, proudly ruffled feathers as a loud, consistent advocate for human rights. In one year as chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Lantos demanded Japan apologize for wartime sex slavery and declared Turkey's World War I mass killing of Armenians genocide. Lantos was 80.

■ HARRY CARAY HE WASN'T. But graphic designer **Karl Ehrhardt** achieved cult fame among baseball fans as the New York Mets' self-appointed commentator. From 1964 to 1981, the "Sign Man of Shea Stadium"—whom the Mets flew to the 1973 World Series for good luck—sat in the stands and held up hundreds

of prepared block-lettered placards to tweak (JOSE CAN YOU SEE? when Jose Cardenal struck out) or praise (IT'S ALIVE! when a weak player got a hit). "I called them the way I saw them," he said. He was 83.

■ HE SHOT THE A-BOMB TESTS of the 1950s and stories on autism and education, but **Allan Grant**, a staff photographer for LIFE magazine from the '40s through the '60s, made his name capturing stars. The dashing Grant caught Howard Hughes flying his *Spruce Goose* in 1947; Richard Nixon atop his house during the 1961 Brentwood-Bel Air fire and the last pictures of Marilyn Monroe alive (shown above). Grant was 88.



Scheider



James

Poniewozik

An Unkind Cut. A protest over a serial-killer drama shows that it's not gore that bothers "decency" watchdogs. It's ideas

ON FEB. 17, CBS PREMIERES A CRIME drama about a police forensics expert in Miami. It is a disturbingly grisly procedural in which murder victims are rendered into gorgeously art-directed gore.

They have a name in the TV business for that kind of series: a CBS show. The network has had a successful formula for years with series like *CSI* and *Criminal Minds*, bloody odes to killers and the science nerds who catch them. But in *Dexter*, the science nerd is also the killer. The title character (Michael C. Hall) was raised by a foster father who trained him to channel his impulses into killing only other murderers. Dexter dispatches the killers of women and children with clinical elegance. Handsome, charismatic, dedicated to his code, he makes psychopathy look downright sexy.

The Parents Television Council (PTC), a TV-decency watchdog, is not so charmed. When CBS picked up *Dexter* as a strike replacement from sister network Showtime, it cut out the most graphic violence and language, but the group is pressuring advertisers to boycott the show anyway. Edits or no edits, says PTC president Tim Winter, "it's the entire premise that's the problem. You are in a disturbingly queasy way rooting for a mass murderer to kill somebody."

The PTC's problem, in other words, is with *Dexter*'s ideas, not its gore. This is disturbing if you'd rather control your own remote, thank you very much. But at least

it's refreshing. TV-decency campaigns are only nominally about nipples, blood and curses. Ultimately, they're about the messages that "our children"—read: other people's children—are exposed to.

So let's look at *Dexter*'s ideas. Dexter, not unlike 24's Jack Bauer, is a vigilante. But vigilantism, whether you cheer or boo it, is by definition driven by morality. Dexter's first victim is a man who has been



killing young boys. "Kids," Dexter sneers, disgusted. "I could never do that."

But *Dexter* is also an exploration of what morality is. Is Dexter truly a moral person or an animal who's learned a sophisticated trick? "People fake a lot of human interactions," he says, "but I feel like I fake them all. And I fake them very well." Unlike *CSI*, *Dexter* is informed by a philosophical question: whether humanity is more than the sum of one's outward actions.

Is that an appropriate subject for kids? Which kids? And whose? A 6-year-old? Of course not. But some teens are ready to empathize with killers in novels like *Crime and Punishment* and *The Stranger*—assigned by high schools, which have greater coercive power than even Viacom

does. Others are barely ready for young-adult fiction. *Dexter* is not *The Stranger*, but it's not *Saw* either. Decency protests, however, don't make such distinctions. Killers are killers. One slice fits all.

The longing for easy boundaries is appealing now that navigating media is so hard. The call to keep prime time safe is a kind of nostalgia for an era when there were three networks and prime time meant something. Today your TV remote doesn't distinguish between broadcast and cable. A 10 p.m. drama can stream online or play on DVR or DVD at any hour. It's always prime time, or it never is.

No wonder some parents want a firm hand to restore order. (Though as a parent, I should note that having a kid gives you only an extra tax deduction, not an extra vote.) The government cannot regulate violence on TV, but some lawmakers are advocating that it do so. And it is an election year. Hillary Clinton and John McCain have both been active in media-decency issues, and Barack Obama cited his bona fides as a concerned parent at a recent debate.

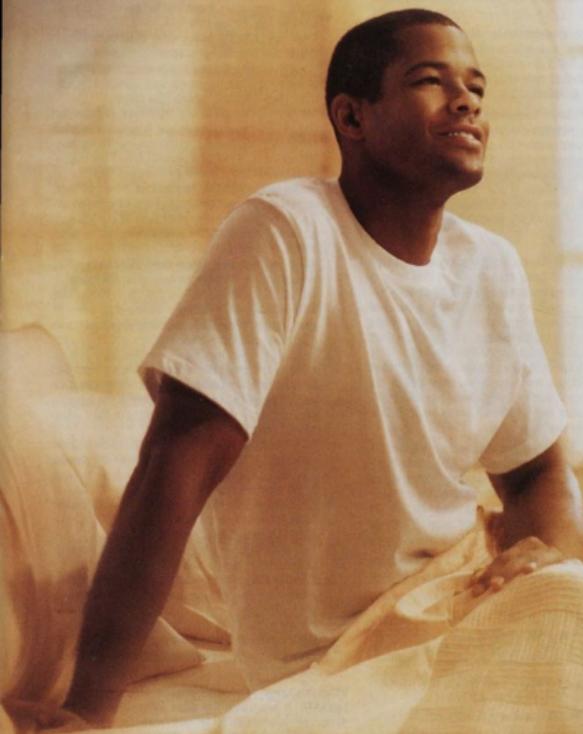
But what most bothers parents today is the pop-culture ambush: the dirty ad in a football game, the gruesome trailer at a family comedy, the R-rated movie on a plane. The responsible answer is respect for context from entertainment megacorporations and more information for audiences. With *Dexter*, which carries a "mature themes" advisory before each episode, everyone knows what's coming. But to the PTC, as Winter says, "airing something more explicit with a better warning" is not enough.

Ironically, when it's not trying to get shows off the air, the PTC runs a very good online program that reviews shows for family-friendliness. This kind of effort—which enables choice rather than limiting it—might recognize *Dexter* as an intelligent, dark show for grownups and maybe mature youths (many of whom would probably rather watch it unedited anyway). Making those educated choices can be overwhelming for parents, it's true. But it's in the spirit of democracy, where ideas are life or death.

Dexter is not *The Stranger*, but it's not *Saw* either. Decency protests, however, don't make such distinctions. Killers are killers. One slice fits all



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(eszopiclone) C
1, 2 and 3 MG TABLETS

Please read this summary of information about LUNESTA before you talk to your doctor or start using LUNESTA. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. If you have any questions about LUNESTA tablets, be sure to ask your doctor or pharmacist.

LUNESTA is used to treat different types of sleep problems, such as difficulty in falling asleep, difficulty in maintaining sleep during the night, and waking up too early in the morning. Most people with insomnia have more than one of these problems. You should take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed because of the risk of falling.

LUNESTA belongs to a group of medicines known as "hypnotics" or, simply, sleep medicines. There are many different sleep medicines available to help people sleep better. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent. It usually requires treatment for only a short time, usually 7 to 10 days up to 2 weeks. If your insomnia does not improve after 7 to 10 days of treatment, see your doctor, because it may be a sign of an underlying condition. Some people have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. However, you should not use these medicines for long periods without talking with your doctor about the risks and benefits of prolonged use.

Side Effects

All medicines have side effects. The most common side effects of sleep medicines are:

- Drowsiness
- Dizziness
- Light-headedness
- Difficulty with coordination

Sleep medicines can make you sleepy during the day. How drowsy you feel depends upon how your body reacts to the medicine, which sleep medicine you are taking, and how large a dose your doctor has prescribed. Daytime drowsiness is best avoided by taking the lowest dose possible that will still help you sleep at night. Your doctor will work with you to find the dose of LUNESTA that is best for you. Some people taking LUNESTA have reported next-day sleepiness.

To manage these side effects while you are taking this medicine:

- When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
- Do not drink alcohol when you are taking LUNESTA or any sleep medicine. Alcohol can increase the side effects of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
- Do not take any other medicines without asking your doctor first. This includes medicines you can buy without a prescription. Some medicines can cause drowsiness and are best avoided while taking LUNESTA.
- Always take the exact dose of LUNESTA prescribed by your doctor. Never change your dose without talking to your doctor first.

Special Concerns

There are some special problems that may occur while taking sleep medicines.

Memory Problems

Sleep medicines may cause a special type of memory loss or "amnesia." When this occurs, a person may not remember what has happened for several hours after taking the medicine. This is usually not a problem since most people fall asleep after taking the medicine. Memory loss can be a problem, however, when sleep medicines are taken while traveling, such as during an airplane flight and the person wakes up before the effect of the medicine is gone. This has been called "traveler's amnesia." Memory problems have been reported rarely by patients taking LUNESTA in clinical studies. In most cases, memory problems can be avoided if

you take LUNESTA only when you are able to get a full night of sleep before you need to be active again. Be sure to talk to your doctor if you think you are having memory problems.

Tolerance

When sleep medicines are used every night for more than a few weeks, they may lose their effectiveness in helping you sleep. This is known as "tolerance." Development of tolerance to LUNESTA was not observed in a clinical study of 6 months' duration. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent, and prolonged use of sleep medicines is generally not necessary. Some people, though, have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. If your sleep problems continue, consult your doctor, who will determine whether other measures are needed to overcome your sleep problems.

Dependence

Sleep medicines can cause dependence in some people, especially when these medicines are used regularly for longer than a few weeks or at high doses. Dependence is the need to continue taking a medicine because stopping it is unpleasant.

When people develop dependence, stopping the medicine suddenly may cause unpleasant symptoms (see *Withdrawal*, below). They may find they have to keep taking the medicine either at the prescribed dose or at increasing doses just to avoid withdrawal symptoms.

All people taking sleep medicines have some risk of becoming dependent on the medicine. However, people who have been dependent on alcohol or other drugs in the past may have a higher chance of becoming addicted to sleep medicines. This possibility must be considered before using these medicines for more than a few weeks. If you have been addicted to alcohol or drugs in the past, it is important to tell your doctor before starting LUNESTA or any sleep medicine.

Withdrawal

Withdrawal symptoms may occur when sleep medicines are stopped suddenly after being used daily for a long time. In some cases, these symptoms can occur even if the medicine has been used for only a week or two. In mild cases, withdrawal symptoms may include unpleasant feelings. In more severe cases, abdominal and muscle cramps, vomiting, sweating, shakiness, and, rarely, seizures may occur. These more severe withdrawal symptoms are very uncommon. Although withdrawal symptoms have not been observed in the relatively limited controlled trials experience with LUNESTA, there is, nevertheless, the risk of such events in association with the use of any sleep medicine.

Another problem that may occur when sleep medicines are stopped is known as "rebound insomnia." This means that a person may have more trouble sleeping the first few nights after the medicine is stopped than before starting the medicine. If you should experience rebound insomnia, do not get discouraged. This problem usually goes away on its own after 1 or 2 nights.

If you have been taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for more than 1 or 2 weeks, do not stop taking it on your own. Always follow your doctor's directions.

Changes In Behavior And Thinking

Some people using sleep medicines have experienced unusual changes in their thinking and/or behavior. These effects are not common. However, they have included:

- More outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal
- Confusion
- Strange behavior
- Agitation
- Hallucinations
- Worsening of depression
- Suicidal thoughts

How often these effects occur depends on several factors, such as a person's general health, the use of other medicines, and which sleep medicine is being used. Clinical experience with LUNESTA suggests that it is rarely associated with these behavior changes.

It is also important to realize it is rarely clear whether these behavior changes are caused by the medicine, are caused by an illness, or have occurred on their own. In fact, sleep problems that do not improve may be due to illnesses that were present before the medicine was used. If you or your family notice

any changes in your behavior, or if you have any unusual or disturbing thoughts, call your doctor immediately.

Pregnancy And Breastfeeding

Sleep medicines may cause sedation or other potential effects in the unborn baby when used during the last weeks of pregnancy. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking LUNESTA.

In addition, a very small amount of LUNESTA may be present in breast milk after use of the medication. The effects of very small amounts of LUNESTA on an infant are not known; therefore, as with all other prescription sleep medicines, it is recommended that you not take LUNESTA if you are breastfeeding a baby.

Safe Use Of Sleep Medicines

To ensure the safe and effective use of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, you should observe the following cautions:

1. LUNESTA is a prescription medicine and should be used ONLY as directed by your doctor. Follow your doctor's instructions about how to take, when to take, and how long to take LUNESTA.
2. Never use LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for longer than directed by your doctor.
3. If you notice any unusual and/or disturbing thoughts or behavior during treatment with LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, contact your doctor.
4. Tell your doctor about any medicines you may be taking, including medicines you may buy without a prescription and herbal preparations. You should also tell your doctor if you drink alcohol. DO NOT use alcohol while taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
5. Do not take LUNESTA unless you are able to get 8 or more hours of sleep before you must be active again.
6. Do not increase the prescribed dose of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine unless instructed by your doctor.
7. When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
8. Be aware that you may have more sleeping problems the first night or two after stopping any sleep medicine.
9. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, if you become pregnant, or if you are breastfeeding a baby while taking LUNESTA.
10. As with all prescription medicines, never share LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine with anyone else. Always store LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine in the original container and out of reach of children.
11. Be sure to tell your doctor if you suffer from depression.
12. LUNESTA works very quickly. You should only take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed.
13. For LUNESTA to work best, you should not take it with or immediately after a high-fat, heavy meal.
14. Some people, such as older adults (i.e., ages 65 and over) and people with liver disease, should start with the lower dose (1 mg) of LUNESTA. Your doctor may choose to start therapy at 2 mg. In general, adults under age 65 should be treated with 2 or 3 mg.
15. Each tablet is a single dose, do not crush or break the tablet.

Note: This summary provides important information about LUNESTA. If you would like more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist to let you read the Prescribing Information and then discuss it with him or her.

Rx only

 SEPRACOR



Joe Klein

The Barack Blowout. Hillary has plenty of excuses, but Obama is clobbering her with a smarter, more rigorous campaign

IN THE SPACE OF A SINGLE WEEK, BARACK Obama has won eight primaries and caucuses. Hillary Clinton has won none. The Clinton campaign has explanations, some nearly plausible. The primaries were held in states with large, "proud" African-American communities. The caucuses discriminate against Clinton's working-class base and favor Obama's affluent and activist supporters. Just wait till we get to big primary states like Texas and Ohio, Clinton staffers insist.

To which one can only reply: Yes, but you've not just been losing; you're getting historically, comprehensively clobbered. Obama's most convincing victory came in Virginia, a state itching to switch from red to blue in 2008. He swept most demographic groups there, including such alleged Clinton strongholds as white men and Latinos. The size of the Virginia victory can be attributed, in part, to the momentum Obama had gathered over the preceding weekend in caucus states like Nebraska and Maine. And his blowout victories in those places can be attributed to the fact that he is running a smarter, more rigorous campaign than Clinton is.

I spoke with prominent Democrats in the caucus states, and the story was the same all over: Obama had organizers on the ground, advertising on the air and in the mailboxes—and made crucial personal appearances at the right times. Clinton was late to the game or absent entirely. "It seems as if they simply hadn't thought out what was going to happen after Super Tuesday," said a Nebraska Democrat who supported Clinton. "Obama paid attention. He courted [Senator] Ben Nelson and got his endorsement. He spoke in Omaha;

Michelle went to Lincoln. I'm not saying Clinton could have won here, but she sure could have made it closer, won a few more delegates. Now you just have the sense that this campaign is over. She looks like a loser."

If nothing else, a presidential campaign tests a candidate's ability to think strategically and tactically and to manage a



very complex organization. We have three plausible candidates remaining—Obama, Clinton and John McCain—and Obama has proved himself the best executive by far. Both the Clinton and the McCain campaigns have gone broke at crucial moments. So much for fiscal responsibility. McCain has been effective only when he runs as a guerrilla; in both 2000 and '08, he was hapless at building a coherent campaign apparatus. Clinton's sins are different: arrogance and the inability to see past loyalty to hire the best people for the job and to fire those who prove inadequate. "If nothing else, we've learned that Obama probably has the ability to put together a smooth-running Administration," said a Clinton super-delegate. "That's pretty important."

Obama still has a tricky path to the nomination. "We know he can walk

on water," Democratic stalwart Donna Brazile told me, presciently, a year ago. "Now he's got to produce the loaves and fishes." Some old-fashioned meat and potatoes will do—and Obama has retooled his message to emphasize his economic plans. "The working folks in my state are not taken with high-blown rhetoric," says Sherrod Brown, the Democratic Senator from Ohio, who is uncommitted in this race. "They're looking for a candidate who can present a big idea that relates to them. If one of these candidates rolls some of the big issues—like jobs, alternative energy, national security—into a central theme of their campaign, something like an energy-independence Marshall Plan, and shows how that would revive Ohio's economy, they can win this state."

Hillary Clinton would seem better positioned to do that, but there has been no theme or narrative to her candidacy ... other than, We're back. Recently she has made a few lame attempts to be more inspirational, but her language is as amorphous as Obama's—her only hope is to tie inspiration directly to substance, to the sort of grand idea that Senator Brown has proposed. The notion that she'll win

Ohio and Texas simply because the demographics are friendly is less convincing after Obama's Virginia win. The demographics are also not nearly so friendly as the Clinton staff thinks, especially in Ohio—a state that seems to be the mirror image of Missouri, which Obama won. Ohio's population is 84% white (the exact same as in Missouri), 11.8% black (11.3% in Missouri) and 2.3% Hispanic (2.8% in Missouri). The percentages of college graduates and the household-income distribution are nearly identical as well.

And Wisconsin isn't much different—half as many African Americans, a slightly more affluent general population. Still, the Clinton campaign is already preparing its excuses for a Wisconsin defeat: It's an open primary. Independents and Republicans can cross over. Ohhh-kay. But the general election is open too.

Of the three plausible remaining candidates, Obama has proved himself the best executive by far

A Losing Streak

This is not the race that Hillary Clinton expected to be running. How Clinton is retooling her campaign for trench warfare and gambling everything on Texas and Ohio

BY KAREN TUMULTY

TS. ELIOT MAY HAVE THOUGHT that April was the cruellest month, but as far as Hillary Clinton is concerned, it's got nothing on February. As Barack Obama was racking up his sixth, seventh and eighth consecutive wins in the week that had passed since Super Tuesday—trouncing her in Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia and moving into the lead in the delegate count—Clinton was doing her best to turn the page of the calendar in search of an early sign of spring. She spent primary day in her campaign headquarters in downtown Arlington, Va., doing interviews by satellite with radio and television stations in Ohio and Texas, states that don't vote until March 4. By the time the ballots were being counted in the Potomac primaries, Clinton had landed in El Paso, Texas, where she declared, "We're going to sweep across Texas in the next three weeks."

This is not the race that Clinton thought she would be running. Her campaign was built on inevitability, a haughty operation so confident it would have the nomina-

tion wrapped up by now that it didn't even put a field organization in place for the states that were to come after the mega-primary on Feb. 5.

Clinton's positions, most notably her support for the Iraq invasion and her refusal to recant that vote, were geared more to battling a Republican in the general election than to winning over an angry Democratic base clamoring for change. Not until last fall did she seem to acknowledge that she faced opposition in the Democratic primaries, so focused was her message on George W. Bush and the GOP.

'The work on the ground was never done. We have been consistently outhustled in the field.'

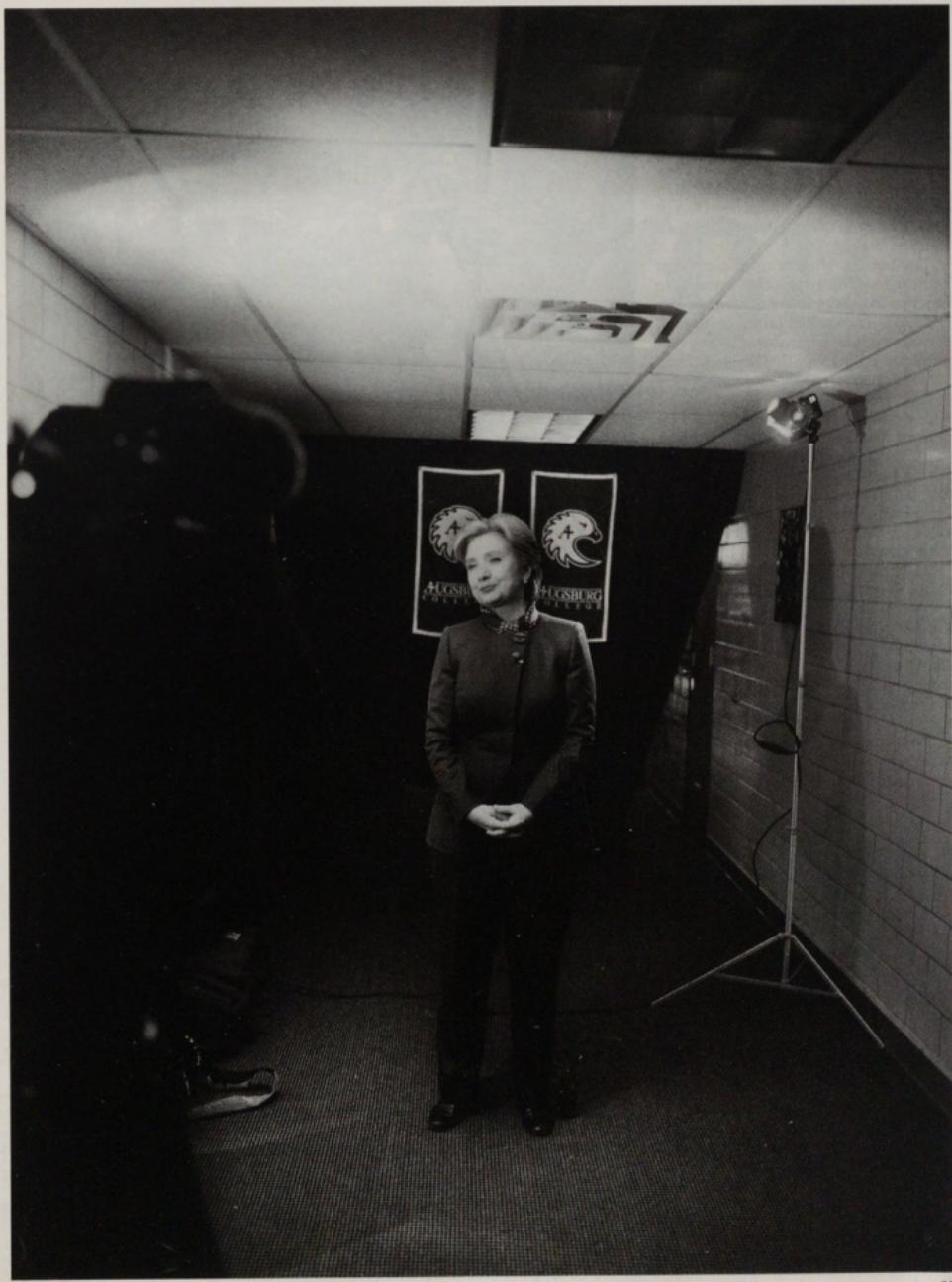
—TOP CLINTON CAMPAIGN OFFICIAL,
ON HER OPERATION VS. OBAMA'S

But a funny thing happened on the way to the victory podium at the Democratic National Convention. While Clinton was busy running as a pseudo incumbent, Obama donned the mantle of change and built a fund-raising and ground operation that has proved superior to hers by almost every measure. As a veteran of Democratic presidential campaigns who is not affiliated with any candidate this time around puts it, the Clinton forces "get to every state later. They spend less. They don't get the best people."

And now Obama is making inroads with every Democratic constituency, including the ones that Clinton counted as hers. In deeply Democratic Maryland, for instance, Obama won rural voters, union households, white men, independents, African Americans and young people, and held his own among Hispanics—the makings of a broad and tough-to-overcome coalition. Obama's campaign now claims a 136-vote lead among pledged delegates, those elected through primaries and caucuses. "We believe that it's next to impossible for Senator Clinton to close the delegate count," Obama campaign manager David Plouffe told reporters the morning after the Potomac primaries.

Much of the blame, from both within and outside the campaign, has been aimed at Clinton's chief strategist, Mark Penn. "He never adjusted," says a prominent Democrat. "I don't think he knows how to do primaries. He doesn't know how

Looking for a firewall Clinton gives a pre-Super Tuesday interview in Minnesota, a state where Obama beat her by more than 2 to 1



to do what is essentially a family fight." But that explanation misses a larger possibility: that Bill and Hillary Clinton, who came of age in politics a generation ago, no longer have the touch for the electorate they once did.

Now, having blown through more than \$120 million, Clinton's campaign is struggling to build a campaign from scratch in Ohio and Texas, with political observers in near agreement that a failure to win both could be fatal.

Clinton has shaken up a campaign team whose top rung often seemed to function like the permanent membership of the U.N. Insecurity Council, with each of its often feuding members holding veto power over any move that diverged from his or her plan. Gone is campaign manager Patti Solis Doyle, the former scheduler whose primary qualification seemed to be her long history with the candidate. Some of Clinton's closest advisers had argued against putting Doyle in such a high-wire role, but it was a characteristic move for a candidate who, like Bush, is known above all other virtues.

The installation of Doyle as campaign manager was also a reflection of the Clintons' confidence in their political instincts, say those who have worked with them. So convinced were they of their superiority at charting a course to November that they were looking, first and foremost, for subalterns who would carry it out without question or challenge.

Doyle has now been replaced by another loyalist, Maggie Williams, who served as Hillary Clinton's chief of staff in the White House. Williams is someone to whom Clinton has turned in her moments of greatest peril. Former White House aides recall how in 1994 Williams planned and executed—without telling the press office—the famous soft-focus pink-sweater news conference, in which the First Lady talked about Whitewater and her cattle-futures trading for 66 min. Williams left the White House at the start of Bill Clinton's second term, saddled with more than \$300,000 in legal bills, after having been called to testify before the Senate Banking Committee about her role in the Whitewater damage-control effort. On the night of deputy White House counsel Vince Foster's suicide, Williams and counsel Bernie Nussbaum combed Foster's office for personal papers, and she was later criticized for allegedly removing a sheaf of documents that were locked away before eventually turning them over to attorneys.

Williams' takeover of the campaign was greeted with almost universal jubila-



The change agent Obama greets supporters at the University of Maryland in College Park before sweeping the Potomac primaries

tion by fund raisers, outside advisers and congressional allies—many of whom had been complaining for months that they couldn't get their calls returned. Williams is considered far less likely to tolerate turf fights and insularity. Aides are hoping for more clarity in decision making and information-sharing. In each of her first two days on the job, Williams held meetings for the entire headquarters staff—a simple enough move but one that was considered a dramatic change for an operation in which, as a campaign strategist put it, "nobody knew what was going on."

The campaign's inner circle has finally begun to expand. Austin, Texas, advertising man Roy Spence (who helped come up with the state's "Don't mess with Texas" slogan) will aid in shaping the candidate's message. Campaign deputy manager Mike Henry followed Doyle out the door, and his role is being given to field director Guy Cefil. Adviser Harold Ickes, who for months has been urging the Clintons to focus on ground game vulnerabilities, is also ascendant, thanks in part to his close relationship with Williams. Moaned a top official: "The work on the ground was never done. We have been consistently outmatched in the field." And while chief strategist Penn's position appears secure, campaign insiders believe he will not be able to operate with as much unquestioned autonomy as he used to have.

One of the continuing challenges for the Clinton campaign in the lead-up to the

March 4 primaries could be money. Political veterans say Clinton will need a minimum of \$3 million to \$5 million to compete in Ohio, and even more in Texas. Both states are large: Ohio has seven major media markets; Texas nearly three times as many.

Clinton's fund-raising has picked up considerably since the day after Super Tuesday, when the campaign revealed she had been forced to loan herself \$5 million to make it through January. "People know she really needs the money," says national finance co-chairman Alan Patricof. But her fund-raising is still no match for Obama's Internet-fueled money machine, which has been bringing in about \$1 million a day. On the invitation to a luncheon meeting on Feb. 13 in New York City, top Clinton fund raisers were "encouraged to bring at least one prospective Finance Committee member" and "asked to commit to raising a minimum of \$25,000 for Hillary Clinton for President."

And the campaign's most effective fund raiser of all will be picking up the pace. Bill Clinton has scheduled more than a dozen fund raisers before Texas and Ohio. That included one on the night of the luncheon, at the Clintons' residence in Washington. The alert went out to money men: "We have a handful of slots available tomorrow evening for cocktails with President Bill Clinton at Whitehaven, the Clintons' home. Do you know of one person who would be interested in attending and contributing \$1,000?" That, in politics, is what passes for hand-to-hand combat. The battle has been joined; the question for the Clintons, however, is whether it is already too late.

—WITH REPORTING BY MICHAEL DUFFY AND MICHAEL WEISSKOPF/WASHINGTON ■

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MAKING SENSE OF INVESTING

How to Make Great Teachers

American public schools are struggling to attract and retain high-quality teachers. Is it time we paid them for performance?

BY CLAUDIA WALLIS

WE NEVER FORGET OUR BEST teachers—those who imbued us with a deeper understanding or an enduring passion, the ones we come back to visit years after graduating, the educators who opened doors and altered the course of our lives. I was lucky enough to encounter two such teachers my senior year in a public high school in Connecticut. Dr. Cappel told us from the outset that his goal was not to prepare us for the AP biology exam; it was to teach us how to think like scientists, which he proceeded to do with a quiet passion, mainly in the laboratory. Mrs. Hastings, my stern, Radcliffe-trained English teacher, was as devoted to her subject as the gentle Doc Cappel was to his: a tough taskmaster on the art of writing essays and an avid guide to the pleasures of James Joyce. Looking back, I'd have to credit this inspirational pair for carving the path that led me to a career writing about science.

It would be wonderful if we knew more about teachers such as these and how to multiply their number. How do they come by their craft? What qualities and capacities do they possess? Can these abilities be measured? Can they be taught? Perhaps above all: How should excellent teaching be rewarded so that the best teachers—the most competent, caring and compelling—remain in a profession known for low pay, low status and soul-crushing bureaucracy?

Such questions have become critical to

the future of public education in the U.S. Even as politicians push to hold schools and their faculty members accountable as never before for student learning, the nation faces a shortage of teaching talent. About 3.2 million people teach in U.S. public schools, but, according to projections by economist William Hussar at the National Center for Education Statistics, the nation will need to recruit an additional 2.8 million over the next eight years owing to baby-boomer retirement, growing student enrollment and staff turnover—which is especially rapid among new teachers. Finding and keeping high-quality teachers are key to America's competitiveness as a nation. Recent test results show that U.S. 10th-graders ranked just 17th in science among peers from 30 nations, while in math they placed in the bottom five. Research suggests that a good teacher is the single most important factor in boosting achievement, more important than class size, the dollars spent per student or the quality of textbooks and materials.

Across the country, hundreds of school districts are experimenting with new ways to attract, reward and keep good teachers. Many of these efforts borrow ideas from business. They include signing bonuses for

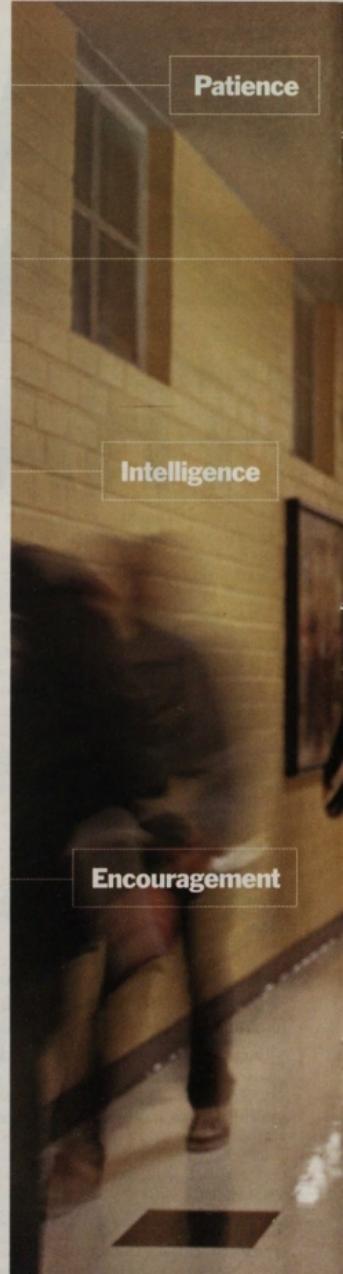
Money Isn't Everything

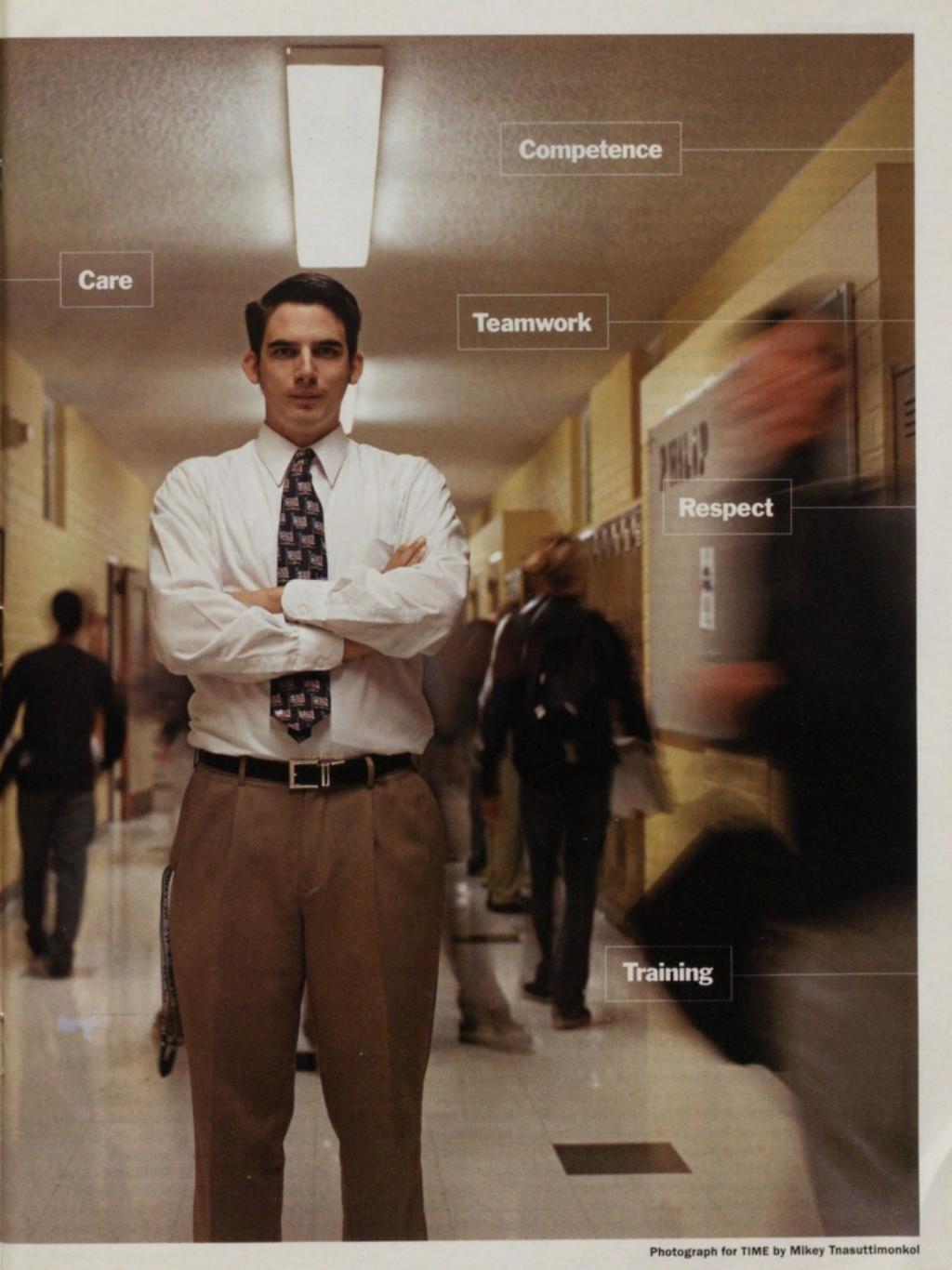
Ben Van Dyk fled public school to teach at parochial Servite High. Pay isn't great, but there's more support and freedom to teach creatively

Patience

Intelligence

Encouragement





Competence

Care

Teamwork

Respect

Training

hard-to-fill jobs like teaching high school chemistry, housing allowances (\$15,000 in New York City) and what might be called combat pay for teachers who commit to working in the most distressed schools. But the idea gaining the most momentum—and controversy—is merit pay, which attempts to measure the quality of teachers' work and pay teachers accordingly.

Traditionally, public school salaries are based on years spent on the job and college credits earned, a system favored by unions because it treats all teachers equally. Of course, everyone knows that not all teachers are equal. Just witness how parents lobby to get their kids into the best classrooms. And yet there is no universally accepted way to measure competence, much less the ineffable magnetism of a truly brilliant educator. In its absence, policymakers have focused on that current measure of all things educational: student test scores. In districts across the country, administrators are devising systems that track student scores back to the teachers who taught them in an attempt to apportion credit and blame and, in some cases, target help to teachers who need it. Offering bonuses to teachers who raise student achievement, the theory goes, will improve the overall quality of instruction, retain those who get the job done and attract more highly qualified candidates to the profession—all while lifting those all-important test scores.

Such efforts have been encouraged by the Bush Administration, which in 2006 started a program that awards \$99 million a year in grants to districts that link teacher compensation to raising student test scores. Merit pay has also become part of the debate in Congress over how to improve the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), triggering an outcry from teachers' unions, which oppose federal intrusion into how teachers get paid and evaluated. The subject is a touchy one for the Democrats, who count on support from the powerful teachers' unions. Last summer, Barack Obama endorsed merit pay at a meeting of the National Education Association, the nation's largest teachers' union, so long as the measure of merit is "developed with teachers, not imposed on them and not based on some arbitrary test score." Hillary Clinton says she does not support merit pay for individual teachers but does advocate performance-based pay on a schoolwide basis.

It's hard to argue against the notion of rewarding the best teachers for doing a good job. But merit pay has a long, checkered history in the U.S., and new programs to pay teachers according to test scores have already backfired in Florida and Houston. What holds more promise



is broader efforts to transform the profession by combining merit pay with more opportunities for professional training and support, thoughtful assessments of how teachers do their jobs and new career paths for top teachers. Here's a look at what's really needed to improve teaching in the U.S.—and what just won't work.

The Leaky Bucket

THERE'S NO MAGIC FORMULA FOR WHAT makes a good teacher, but there is general agreement on some of the prerequisites.

One is an unshakable belief in children's capacity to learn. "Anyone without this has no business in the classroom," says Margaret Gayle, an expert on gifted education at Duke University, who has trained thousands of teachers in North Carolina. Another requirement, especially in the upper grades, is a deep knowledge of one's subject. According to research on teacher efficacy by statistician William Sanders, the higher the grade, the more closely student achievement correlates to a teacher's expertise in her field. Nationally, that's a

Merit-Pay Skeptics

Union members in Houston, led by Gayle Fallon, center, were outraged by a troubled bonus scheme introduced in 2006

Teacher Numbers

3.2 million Number of teachers working in U.S. public schools

2.8 million Estimated number of new hires needed by 2015

30% Estimated percentage of new teachers who quit the profession within three years

\$7 billion Estimated annual cost of teacher turnover

SOURCES: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION; NCTAF

What They Earn

Teachers' pay varies by district. These figures come from a 2004-05 union survey

Average annual salary **\$47,602**

Average starting salary **\$31,753**

Average salary in Connecticut, the highest-paying state **\$57,760**

Average salary in South Dakota, the lowest-paying state **\$34,039**

SOURCE: AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Why Teachers Quit

The top reasons teachers cited for leaving the profession in 2001

Lack of time to prepare **60%**

Too heavy a teaching load **51%**

Class sizes too large **50%**

Poor salary or benefits **48%**

Student behavioral problems **44%**

Lack of influence in school **42%**

SOURCE: NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATION STATISTICS

problem. Nearly 30% of middle- and high school classes in math, English, science and social studies are taught by teachers who didn't major in a subject closely related to the one they are teaching, according to Richard Ingersoll, professor of education and society at the University of Pennsylvania. In the physical sciences, the figure is 68%. In high-achieving countries like Japan and South Korea, he says, "you have far less of this misassignment going on."

Other essential skills require on-the-job practice. It takes at least two years to

master the basics of classroom management and six to seven years to become a fully proficient teacher. Unfortunately, a large percentage of public school teachers give up before they get there. Between a quarter and a third of new teachers quit within their first three years on the job, and as many as 50% leave poor, urban schools within five years. Hiring new teachers is "like filling a bucket with a huge hole in the bottom," says Thomas Carroll, president of the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, a Washington-based nonprofit.

Why do teachers bail? One of the biggest reasons is pay. U.S. public school teachers earn an average annual salary of less than \$48,000, and they start off at an average of about \$32,000. That's what Karie Gladis, 29, earned as a new teacher in Miami. She scrimped for 3½ years and then left for a job in educational publishing. "It was stressful living from paycheck to paycheck," she says. "If my car broke down or if I needed dental work, there was just no wiggle room."

But money isn't the only reason public school teachers quit. Ben Van Dyk, 25, left a job teaching in a high-poverty Philadelphia school after just one year to take a position at a Catholic school where his earning prospects are lower but where he has more support from mentors, more control over how he teaches and fewer problems with student discipline. Novice teachers are much more likely to call it quits if they work in schools where they feel they have little input or support, says Ingersoll. And there's evidence that the best and brightest are the first to leave. Teachers with degrees from highly selective college are more likely to leave than those from less prestigious schools. In poor districts, attrition rates are so high, says Carroll, that "we wind up taking anybody just to have an adult in the classroom."

How Do You Measure Merit?

TO THE BUSINESS-MINDED PEOPLE WHO ARE increasingly running the nation's schools, there's an obvious solution to the problems of teacher quality and teacher turnover: offer better pay for better performance. The challenge is deciding who deserves the extra cash. Merit-pay movements in the 1920s, '50s and '80s stumbled over just that question, as the perception grew that bonuses were awarded to principals' pets. Charges of favoritism, along with unreliable funding and union opposition, sank such experiments.

But in an era when states are testing all students annually, there's a new, less subjective window onto how well a teacher does her job. As early as 1982, University

of Tennessee statistician Sanders seized on the idea of using student test data to assess teacher performance. Working with elementary school test results in Tennessee, he devised a way to calculate an individual teacher's contribution, or "value added," to student progress. Essentially, his method is this: he takes three or more years of student test results, projects a trajectory for each student based on past performance and then looks at whether, at the end of the year, the students in a given teacher's class tended to stay on course, soar above expectations or fall short. Sanders uses statistical methods to adjust for flaws and gaps in the data. "Under the best circumstances," he claims, "we can reliably identify the top 10% to 30% of teachers."

Sanders devised his method as a management tool for administrators, not necessarily as a basis for performance pay. But increasingly, that's what it is used for. Today he heads a group at the North Carolina-based software firm SAS, which performs value-added analysis for North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and districts in about 15 other states. Most use it to measure schoolwide performance, but some are beginning to use value-added calculations to determine bonuses for individual teachers.

Sanders' method is costly and complicated, however. Under steady pressure from NCLB to raise test scores, some districts have looked for quicker, easier ways to identify and reward teachers who boost achievement. In some cases, they have made the call largely on the basis of a single year's test results—a method experts dismiss as unreliable. In Florida, for instance, one of Governor Jeb Bush's final initiatives before he left office in January 2007 was to push through a merit-pay program that offered a 5% bonus to teachers in the top 25% in each participating district, with selection based at least 50% on how much their students' test scores jumped from one year to the next. Houston had a similar initiative, though without the 25% cap.

Both schemes met with fierce resistance. Teachers rebelled against the notion that a year's worth of instruction could be judged by how students did on a single test on a single day. They objected to the lack of clarity about how teachers of subjects not tested by the state would be assessed. And they railed against a system that pitted one colleague against another in a competition for bonuses. To make matters worse, there were gruesome glitches. In Houston, a newspaper website identified which teachers got bonuses. Later, 99 employees were asked to return about \$74,000 in bonus checks issued by mistake. In Florida, one county ran short of bonus funds while

another had an embarrassing discrepancy between the number of awards given in predominantly white schools and the number that went to schools with mainly black students. Both Florida and Houston have improved their programs, but local teachers remain wary. "The new plan doesn't have clear goals," charges Gayle Fallon, who heads the Houston Federation of Teachers. She fully expects "all hell to break loose again."

Beyond Merit Pay

THERE ARE BETTER WAYS. FLORIDA AND Houston might have avoided their mistakes if they had examined some of the more thoughtful approaches to rewarding good teaching that are being tried elsewhere—programs that actively involve teachers and look at more than one measure of how they do their job. In Denver, for example, Professional Compensation, or ProComp, is the product of a seven-year collaboration among the teachers' union, the district and city hall. Rolled out last school year, ProComp includes nine ways for teachers to raise their earnings, some through bonuses and some through bumps in salary. New hires are automatically enrolled, while veterans have the option of sticking with the old salary schedule. But in just one year, half of Denver's 4,555 teachers have signed on.

For Taylor Betz, the program is a no-brainer. A highly regarded 15-year veteran who teaches math in the city's struggling Bruce Randolph School, Betz can rack up an additional \$4,268 this school year if she and her school meet all their goals. That includes \$1,067 for working in a high-needs school, another \$1,067 if students in her school exceed expectations on the state exams, \$356 if she meets professional academic objectives she helped set in the beginning of the year, \$1,067 if she earns a good evaluation from her principal and \$711 if her school is judged to be a "distinguished school," on the basis of a mix of criteria that includes parent satisfaction.

Before ProComp, Betz had reached the top of the district's pay scale at \$53,500 and, despite high marks from her bosses, was looking at nothing more than an annual cost-of-living raise (currently \$260) for the rest of her career. "I've worked in hard-to-serve schools my entire career," says Betz. "I make home visits. I make phone calls. I'm looking at ProComp as compensation for the things that are above and beyond." Betz didn't expect performance pay to change anything about how she does her job but says it has made her even more

driven. "Now I refuse to let kids fail," she says. "I'm going to bulldoze whatever the problem is and solve it." The bonus money is simply a just reward. "I'm not a money grubber. Most teachers aren't. But people in other professions get raises," she says. "Why shouldn't we?"

There's little research on what makes for a successful merit-pay system, but several factors seem critical, says Matthew Springer, director of the National Center on Performance Incentives at Vanderbilt University. Denver's program includes many of them: a careful effort to earn teacher buy-in to the plan, clarity about how it works, multiple ways of measuring

of which are unionized, raises are based on the teachers' performance—which is measured by a combination of structured observations made four to six times a year and student test results, using a Sanders-style value-added formula. The best TAP teachers can climb the professional ladder in three ways: remaining in the classroom but becoming a mentor to others; leaving one's own classroom to become a full-time teacher of teachers, or master teacher; or taking the traditional route into administration.

The element of TAP that gets the most praise from teachers is its rigorous approach to helping them build and refine

their skills and learn from one another. To do this, TAP teachers meet in small groups led by a master teacher for one to two hours a week, generally during the school day. That degree of supervision can be a tough sell to veteran teachers. "I hated it tooth and nail," says Cathy Dailey, who has been teaching science at Bell Street Middle School in Clinton, S.C., for 21 years. "All of a sudden I had to articulate my goals and know that someone was going to come in and watch me." Dailey particularly disliked being forced to reflect in writing on how well her lessons went. "I'd rather you beat me with a stick!" she says. But six years after TAP was introduced, Dailey admits that it has made her more versatile and effective. "I wouldn't be nearly the teacher I am today if it weren't for the big TAP," she says. "I do many more labs and more hands-on lessons. I'm always looking for new ideas on the Internet." She even likes writing the reflections. "You really evaluate what you did and how effective you were," she says. "Sometimes I give myself a pat on the back, and sometimes I think, Oh, boy, you've got to change that."

Since Bell Street Middle School adopted TAP in 2001, it has doubled the percentage of students scoring at an advanced level in math and reading and reduced the percentage scoring "below basic" in math 46%. Meanwhile, teacher turnover has fallen from a disastrous 32% a year to less than 10%. Jason Culbertson, who heads TAP in South Carolina, says such improvements in student achievement, quality of teaching and teacher morale are typical. A recent analysis involving 610 TAP teachers in six states, conducted by the National Institute for Excellence in Teaching, the nonprofit that runs TAP, found that 38% of TAP teachers produced above-average gains in student achievement in a single year, vs. 26% of teachers in a control group.

This school year South Carolina extended



Bonus Beneficiary

Under Denver's ProComp plan, Taylor Betz, a top math teacher, could earn an additional \$4,268 this school year

merit, rewards for teamwork and school-wide success, and reliable financing. In fact, Denver's voters agreed to pay an extra \$25 million a year in taxes for nine years to support the program.

It's too soon to say if ProComp will raise achievement in Denver, but a pilot study found that students of teachers who enrolled on a trial basis performed better on standardized tests than other students. The program is already successful by another measure: raising the number of teachers applying to work in Denver's most troubled schools. Jake Firman, 22, who joined Teach for America right out of college in 2007, says he chose Denver from a list of 26 cities largely because of ProComp. "I thought it was a very cool idea," says Firman, who stands to earn extra pay for filling a hard-to-staff spot (middle-school math) at a high-needs school.

Another impressive model is the Teacher Advancement Program, or TAP, created by the Milken Family Foundation in 1999 and now in place in 180 schools in 14 states and Washington. TAP is more than a merit-pay program. At TAP schools, some



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the program from 18 schools to 43, including all 10 schools in rural, impoverished Marlboro County, where 20% of teachers are not even certified. The challenge is funding, says Culbertson. South Carolina's TAP schools draw on a variety of federal, state and foundation funds to pay for stipends of \$10,000 for master teachers and \$5,000 for mentors and bonuses that range from \$350 to \$9,500. Culbertson is always looking for ways to attract more talent. His latest project: refurbishing an old Marlboro County mansion as an al-

most rent-free home for top teachers. "I treat the job more like a crusade," says the 28-year-old former social-studies teacher. "My goal is systematic change across the state."

It's a good goal for an entire nation in need of better-quality teaching. As U.S. school districts embark on hundreds of separate experiments involving merit pay, some lessons seem clear. If the country wants to pay teachers like professionals—according to their performance, rather than like factory workers logging time on

the job—it has to provide them with other professional opportunities, like the chance to grow in the job, learn from the best of their peers, show leadership and have a voice in decision-making, including how their work is judged. Making such changes would require a serious investment by school districts and their taxpayers. But it would reinvigorate a noble profession. —WITH REPORTING BY RITA HEALY/DENVER, HILARY HYLTON/HOUSTON AND KATHIE KLARREICH/MIAMI

By Linda Darling-Hammond

How They Do It Abroad

The U.S. can learn lessons from several nations that consistently train their teachers well

When school starts each year, the most important question on the minds of parents and children is, Who will my teacher be? The concern is well founded. Researchers have discovered that school's deepest influence on learning depends on the quality of the teacher. Students lucky enough to have teachers who know their content and how to teach it well achieve more. And the effects of a very good (or very poor) teacher last beyond a single year, influencing a student's learning for years. Put simply, expert teachers are the most fundamental resource for improving education.

This lesson has been well learned by societies that top international rankings in education. The highest-achieving countries—Finland, Sweden, Ireland, the Netherlands, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Canada—have been pouring resources into teacher training and support. These countries routinely prepare their teachers more extensively, pay them well in relation to competing occupations and give them lots of time for professional learning. They also provide well-trained teachers for all students—rather than allowing some to be taught by untrained novices—by offering equitable salaries and adding incentives for harder-to-staff locations.

All teacher candidates in Finland, Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands, for example, receive two to three years of graduate-level preparation for teaching, at government expense, plus a living stipend. Unlike the U.S., where teachers either go into debt to prepare for a profession that will pay



Innovations in teaching A challenging curriculum is emphasized at Tammersokken Luko High School in Finland, where students conduct an experiment in a natural-sciences class

them poorly or enter with little or no training, these countries made the decision to invest in a uniformly well-prepared teaching force by recruiting top candidates and paying them while they receive extensive training. With its steep climb in the international rankings, Finland has been a poster child for school improvement. Teachers learn how to create programs that engage students in research and inquiry on a regular basis. There, training focuses on how to teach students who learn in different ways—including those with special needs. The Finns reason that if teachers learn to help students who struggle, they will be able to teach their students more effectively.

Singapore, top-ranked in math by the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study, treats teaching similarly. When

I visited Singapore's National Institute of Education, the nation's only teacher-training institution, nearly all the people I spoke with described how they were investing in teachers' abilities to teach a curriculum focused on critical thinking and inquiry—skills needed in a high-tech economy. To get the best teachers, the institute recruits students from the top third of each graduating high school class into a fully paid four-year teacher-education program (or, if they enter later, a one-to-two-year graduate program) and puts them on the government's payroll. When they enter the profession, teachers' salaries are higher than those of beginning doctors.

Expert teachers are given time to serve as mentors to help beginners learn their craft. The government pays for 100 hours of

professional development each year for all teachers. In addition, they have 20 hours a week to work with other teachers and visit one another's classrooms. And teachers continue to advance throughout their career. With aid from the government, teachers in Singapore can pursue three separate career ladders, which help them become curriculum specialists, mentors for other teachers or school principals. These opportunities bring recognition, extra compensation and new challenges that keep teaching exciting and allow teachers to share their expertise.

Most U.S. teachers, on the other hand, have no time to work with colleagues during the school day. They plan by themselves and get a few hit-and-run workshops after school, with little opportunity to share knowledge or improve their practice. In a study of mathematics teaching and learning in Japan, Taiwan and the U.S., James Stigler and Harold Stevenson noted that "Asian class lessons are so well crafted [because] there is a very systematic effort to pass on the accumulated wisdom of teaching practice to each new generation of teachers and to keep perfecting that practice by providing teachers the opportunities to continually learn from each other."

With these kinds of investments, it is possible to ensure that every teacher has access to the knowledge he or she needs to teach effectively and that every child has access to competent teachers. Such a goal is critical for the U.S. if it is indeed to leave no child behind.

Darling-Hammond is the Charles E. Ducommun professor of education at Stanford University

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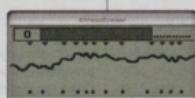
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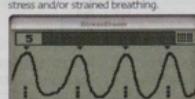
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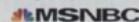
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A Voter's Guide to Education

Education may not be getting much attention during this campaign season, but according to a recent *USA Today/Gallup* poll, voters consider it the third most important issue, behind only the economy and Iraq. Here's a look at where the candidates stand on the education policies that will have the biggest impact on your child's classroom experience, from merit pay for teachers to a longer school year. You decide who makes the grade

BY ALEXANDRA SILVER

Get Involved

Teachers, students and parents can connect through this online community. More than 367,000 teachers already use it hotchalk.com

Explore the Issues

This nonpartisan group is a clearinghouse for potential solutions to persistent problems in U.S. education edlin08.com

Watch And Learn

The documentary *Two Million Minutes* compares how American students measure up to those in India and China 2mmminutes.com

On the Issues

Most education policy, as well as roughly 91% of the funding, comes from the state and local level. But as *No Child Left Behind* showed, a change in federal policy can still have a big impact. Here are four K-12 issues in which the next President could make a difference

NO CHILD LEFT BEHIND

The sweeping legislation championed by President Bush, which makes federal funding dependent on mandatory annual tests, is up for reauthorization. Who would raise their hand in support?

VOUCHERS

All the candidates favor some form of school choice—Democrats prefer "public-school choice"—but not all advocate vouchers, which help parents pay for private schools

MERIT PAY

Performance-based pay aims to reward outstanding teachers and give incentives for improvement. How it should be determined and distributed is a big sticking point

LONGER SCHOOL DAY OR YEAR

Children may enjoy a long summer holiday—a relic of America's agrarian past—but many experts say that more time in class would bring American students closer to their peers abroad



'Developing a 21st century education system ... is a national priority, but achieving that goal will take a real partnership with local schools.'

Clinton calls for an end to No Child Left Behind (NCLB), which she voted for in 2001. As an alternative, she supports broader assessments of progress in schools than the formulas set out by NCLB. Clinton would also provide incentives for community groups to get involved in education.

BRIGHT IDEA

Would devote \$1 billion for programs to reduce dropout rates among minority students

No

Wants to end it. Says it is underfunded and puts too much emphasis on standardized tests

No

Believes that vouchers divert resources from the public-school system

Maybe

Favors schoolwide performance-based pay but not merit pay for individuals

Yes

Supports the concept but doesn't specify it in her education plans

DEMOCRAT**Senator Barack Obama**

'We have to make sure that every school in every state has the resources it needs to give every child a world-class education.'

Obama believes the Federal Government should play a bigger role in public education by funding innovative ideas proposed by individual school districts. He puts an emphasis on recruiting and retaining teachers, whom he calls the "single most important factor" for a child's success in the classroom.

★ BRIGHT IDEA

Would create a scholarship program to completely cover the cost of training for teachers willing to serve in a high-need field or location for four years

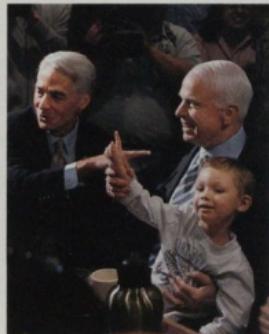
REPUBLICAN**Governor Mike Huckabee**

'Education problems are best handled at the state and local level ... though the Federal Government can act as a clearinghouse.'

Huckabee emphasizes the importance of art and music to round out a child's education—his signature theme on this issue—but is careful to say he wouldn't mandate any programs. A supporter of school choice, he also highlights the right of parents to homeschool their children.

★ BRIGHT IDEA

Supports "personalized learning" that would, for example, allow students to get gym credit for karate class

REPUBLICAN**Senator John McCain**

'The most important issues in education are choice and competition.'

McCain favors a free-market approach to education. He would encourage schools to compete for the best teachers and allow parents more freedom to choose which kind of school—public, private, parochial, charter or home—is best for their kids.

? INCOMPLETE

McCain only recently added education to his campaign website, and he offers few specific proposals

No

Wants NCLB to go beyond standardized tests and offer support for failing schools

Yes

Despite some reservations about teaching to the test

Yes

Voted for it in 2001 and would reauthorize it, with slight tweaks

No

Believes that vouchers divert resources from the public-school system

Yes

But puts more emphasis on "public-school choice"

Yes

School choice, including vouchers, is his main theme for education

Yes

Supports merit pay for individual teachers—but not if it's based solely on test scores, and only if teachers support it

Yes

Supports merit pay for individual teachers

Yes

Supports merit pay for individual teachers

Yes

Would give grants to districts providing more learning time for students in need

Yes

But would leave the decision—and the funding—up to individual school districts

Maybe

Hasn't taken a position yet



CAMPAIGN '08 | DEMOCRATS

Finding Their Faith

A new book shows why religion has cost the Democrats elections—and how they've learned from their mistakes

BY AMY SULLIVAN



BACKSTAGE AT THE TARGET CENTER IN MINNEAPOLIS before a rally earlier this month, Barack Obama engaged in one of his pregame rituals: the presidential candidate joined a circle of young campaign supporters and staff, clasped hands with those on either side of him and prayed.

Hillary Clinton, his rival for the Democratic nomination, has talked on the campaign trail about the "prayer warriors" who support her, and her campaign has made sure that primary voters know that Clinton used to host church picnics at the governor's mansion in Arkansas.

If the Democratic ticket in November is able to capture a greater share of religious voters than in previous elections, it will be because both Obama and Clinton have rejected their party's traditional fight-or-flight reaction to religion. For decades, the

men and women who ran the Democratic Party and its campaigns bought into the conservative spin that the faithful were pro-life, right-wing and most certainly not Democratic voters. Armed with this mind-set, political professionals gave themselves permission to ignore religion and the religious. And in 2004, John Kerry paid the price for that decision.

That year, the Bush-Cheney operation did more with religious outreach than any other campaign in history, deploying a massive parish- and congregation-level mobilization effort. In Florida alone, the GOP employed a state chairwoman for Evangelical outreach who appointed a dozen regional coordinators around the state and designated outreach chairs in each of Florida's 67 counties. Every county chair, in turn, recruited between 30 and 50 volunteers to contact and register their Evangelical neighbors.

The Kerry campaign, meanwhile, hired one junior staff aide with no national campaign experience to oversee religious

Adapted from *The Party Faithful: How and Why Democrats Are Closing the God Gap*, © 2008 by Amy Sullivan. To be published by Scribner, an imprint of Simon & Schuster, Inc.

Higher power Obama, praying with supporters before a Feb. 2 rally, has courted Evangelicals

outreach and allowed her one intern—the two had a single telephone between them with which to recruit and contact volunteers.

It didn't take long for religion to become an issue in the campaign. In the spring of 2004, a handful of conservative Catholic bishops began to insist that Kerry, a Roman Catholic, should be denied Communion because of his support for abortion rights. A media frenzy—quickly dubbed the "Wafer Watch"—soon metastasized, with journalists following Kerry to Mass each Sunday and doing everything but checking his molars for evidence that he had indeed been given Communion.

The candidate's senior advisers huddled to discuss strategy. Amazingly, despite the fact that many of Kerry's congressional colleagues had faced similar problems with bishops in recent years, no one had anticipated the problem. "It never crossed our minds that this could happen," recalled Christine Stanek, deputy

to Kerry's campaign manager, Mary Beth Cahill.

When Kerry and his advisers did reach a decision, it was underwhelming: ignore the story and hope it goes away. A few surrogates could defend Kerry in the press, but the campaign itself would maintain radio silence. It was the same strategy they would employ a few months later when the Swift Boat attacks began. The flaw in the approach, of course, was that ignoring the situation didn't mean the stories went away. It just ensured that the Kerry campaign forfeited any ability to influence the coverage. On one side of the rapidly accumulating media accounts was a handful of unusually conservative bishops whose presence suddenly loomed much larger when left unchallenged. On the other? "The Kerry campaign did not return calls for comment."

The campaign's p.r. problems weren't any better at the local level. In May, two Kerry supporters in Erie, Pa., Pat and Kristin Headley, heard that the candidate would be making a campaign stop at the local airport. Excited, they bundled their young son and daughter into the car, bringing along some poster board and markers to make signs on the way. The Headleys, who are Evangelical Democrats, decided to write PRO-LIFE FOR KERRY on their sign to show that it was possible for pro-life voters to support Democratic candidates. But Kerry's event staff

thought differently. Hurrying over as the message bobbed in the crowd, a pair of Kerry campaign workers confronted the Headleys and asked them to put the poster down. Only "sanctioned" signs, they said, were allowed.

When John Edwards joined the ticket as the vice-presidential nominee in the summer, the campaign could have used the North Carolina Methodist much in the same way that Al Gore's campaign dispatched Joseph Lieberman to engage religious voters in 2000. Edwards carried with him a leather-bound copy of *The Purpose-Driven Life*, a popular devotional book by the Evangelical author and megachurch pastor Rick Warren. Edwards' copy was worn from daily reading, a discipline he shared with tens of millions of other Americans who owned the book.

But voters never learned about the vice-presidential candidate's religious reading habits. While G.O.P. strategists trumpeted the fact that Bush started each morning with a reading from a book of essays trendy in Evangelical circles, Democrats were largely oblivious to the existence of Evangelical culture. At one point during the summer of 2004, Terry McAuliffe was actually at the same event as Warren, and the two were introduced. With a good-natured smile but a blank stare, McAuliffe stuck out his hand. "Nice to meet you, Rick!" the Democratic National Committee chairman said. "And what do you do?"

Catholics were just as far off the Kerry campaign's radar screen. In the fall, a Democratic activist and Catholic in Columbus, Ohio, named Eric McFadden approached the campaign about canvassing heavily Catholic counties in Ohio. Democratic volunteers in those areas had been barraged with questions from voters who had been following the Wafer Watch, and they were desperate for materials that could provide a fuller picture of Kerry's Catholicism. McFadden wanted to deliver flyers that highlighted Kerry's faith and the drop in abortion rates during the 1990s. He approached one of the campaign's Ohio field directors for permission, explaining that he wanted to help organizers appeal to Catholic voters. Her response left him speechless: "We don't do white churches."

When Kerry did finally deliver a thoughtful speech about his faith and values, it took place little more than a week before the election. And because of staff concerns about abortion protesters, the Senator gave his faith talk not at a Catholic university in Ohio, as originally scheduled, but at a Jewish senior center in

Florida, with little fanfare. Nine days later, Kerry lost the Catholic vote in Ohio by 44% to 55%.

It was a six-point drop from Al Gore's showing among Catholics in that state four years earlier. Kerry lost Ohio by a margin of slightly more than 118,000 votes and, with it, the election.

When Kerry did finally deliver a thoughtful speech about his faith, it took place little more than a week before the election



Near the end of the Democratic presidential debate in Myrtle Beach, S.C., last month, Obama paused to offer some advice to his party. "There have been times," he said, "when our Democratic Party did not reach out as aggressively as we could to Evangelicals because the assumption was, well, they don't agree with us on choice, or they don't agree with us on gay rights, and so we just shouldn't show up." That, he argued, was a grave mistake, and it's one reason he and Clinton have empowered Evangelicals within their own campaigns. Instead of avoiding Catholic voters, they've initiated new discussions about abortion. Instead of silencing pro-life supporters, they've encouraged Democrats to show tolerance and respect. And they're both on a first-name basis with Rick Warren.

Death at the Army's Hands

Sergeant Gerald Cassidy returned from Iraq in need of healing. Instead, he died forgotten and alone while under the Army's care. How shoddy treatment is killing soldiers after they come home. A TIME investigation

BY MARK THOMPSON

IRAQI INSURGENTS WOUNDED GERALD Cassidy in the deafening blast of a roadside bomb just outside Baghdad on Aug. 28, 2006. But it took more than a year for him to die from neglect by the Army that had sent him off to war. When Cassidy returned to the U.S. last April, the Army shipped him to a hospital in Fort Knox, Ky., to get treatment for the excruciating headaches that had accompanied him home. For five months, he made the rounds of Army medical personnel, who couldn't cure a pain that grew steadily worse. Unable to make room for him in a pain-management clinic, the Army increasingly plied him with drugs to dull the torment.

At summer's end, the headaches had grown so intense that Cassidy pleaded once more for help, and his doctor prescribed methadone, a powerful narcotic. The next day, calls to Cassidy's cell phone from his wife Melissa went unanswered. After two more days without word from her husband, she frantically called the Army and urged that someone check on him. Nine hours later, two soldiers finally unlocked the door to his room. They found Cassidy slumped in his chair, dead, his laptop and cold takeout chicken wings on his desk.

The "manner of death" was summed up at the end of the 12-page autopsy: "Accident." But when he died, Cassidy had the contents of a locked medicine cabinet coursing through his body, powerful narcotics and other drugs like citalopram, hydromorphone, morphine and oxycodone, as well as methadone. The drugs—both the levels that Cassidy took and "their combined, synergistic actions," in the medical examiner's words—killed him.

Horrifyingly, it appears that Cassidy lived for up to two days after falling into a stupor. Forgotten and alone, he sat in his room until he died. "My God, he was there

for three days, and no one even found him. That's a huge scandal," says Dr. William Kearney, Cassidy's Army psychiatrist. Regulations that require a soldier to show up for formation three times a day or be tracked down were widely ignored, say soldiers who stayed at Fort Knox. "You could easily linger for two days in a coma," Kearney says, "and if anybody had opened his door, they would have found him unconscious and they would have called 911."

Soldiers fall through the cracks in every war. But the death of Sergeant Gerald (GJ) Cassidy, a cheerful 31-year-old husband and father of two, highlights the tragic and persistent shortcomings of Army medicine. The same Army that spends \$160 billion on tomorrow's fighting machines is shortchanging the shell-shocked troops coming home from war in need of healing. Cassidy was promised world-class health care. But he didn't get the simple help—quick treatment, pain-management classes, knowledge of his whereabouts or even a roommate—that could have saved his life.

Combat Trauma

CASSIDY GREW UP PLAYING ARMY GAMES with cousins and re-creating Civil War battles on a Ping-Pong table covered with fake grass and tiny trees in the basement of his Carmel, Ind., home. He joined the Army Reserve in 1992, and the Indiana National Guard in 2003, intending to serve 20 years, get a pension and then retire to teach junior-high history. He served in Bosnia in 2004. And in April 2006, when the Army called, Cassidy left his landscaping job for Iraq. "Some guys had gone to Iraq three



An Army Life

From top: Cassidy on his wedding day in 2004; during his tour of Iraq in 2006; the Fort Knox hospital where he was treated for traumatic brain injury



Family Minus One

Cassidy's widow Melissa and his children Isaac and Abbey, top. A month before his death, Cassidy and his family, above, gathered in a park in Lafayette, Ind.

times at that point, and he hadn't gone," Melissa says. "He felt if he volunteered, someone else would get to stay home."

In Iraq, Cassidy's job was to protect the serpentine convoys that carry food, fuel and mail to and from Kuwait. On a routine mission in August 2006, a roadside bomb blew up 10 yds. (9 m) from his armored humvee. There was no apparent damage to the humvee or the four men in it. But for two to three minutes after the attack, Cassidy lost his hearing, and he quickly developed a bad headache. The next day medics diagnosed a minor concussion. "Since that time," he wrote in a January 2007 statement, "I have been plagued with migraine headaches every seven to 10 days."

Melissa was grateful when Cassidy finally came home. "I felt like I could breathe again," she says. But because of the continuing head pain, the Army decided to send him to Fort Knox, 150 miles (240 km) from his home in Indiana. It was a strange choice. Cassidy was apparently suffering from traumatic brain injury (TBI) compounded by posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which should have required treatment by neurologists. But there are none at Fort Knox's Ireland Army Community Hospital.

Just as the Pentagon failed to anticipate the duration and cost of the Iraq war, it has been woefully unprepared for the waves of wounded who return home needing care. Earnest, hardworking medical personnel haven't been able to handle the deluge. At Fort Knox, Cassidy and more than 200 other soldiers were placed in a newly created Warrior Transition Unit (WTU). The Army is spending \$500 million this year on such units, in which troops operate as a military detachment and continue to be paid. After a 2007 *Washington Post* series focused attention on poor conditions at the service's flagship Walter Reed hospital in Washington, the Army created the units to streamline the care of Army outpatients. There are currently 8,300 soldiers in 35 WTUs. One in 5 suffers from TBI, PTSD or both.

Mild TBI is the "signature wound" of the Iraq war, afflicting up to 250,000 troops. It nearly doubles the chance of developing PTSD, according to recent study in the *New England Journal of Medicine*. While severe TBI cases are easily identified by bloodied and broken craniums, disorders in which brains are rattled inside intact skulls by IEDs (improvised explosive devices) are harder, and sometimes impossible, to diagnose.

During his first month at Fort Knox, an MRI of Cassidy's brain revealed no "hemorrhage, edema, mass effect or midline shift" that would clearly indicate TBI. Nonetheless, his case manager made a note in his file that "headaches are gradually worsen-

ing." Cassidy tried a slew of prescription pain relievers without success. Because there was no physical evidence of an injury, a civilian neurologist working for the Army who examined Cassidy in late April concluded that the headaches were most likely "posttraumatic migraines." The doctor prescribed two more kinds of drugs. It was the soldier's lone visit to a neurologist during his 13 months of headaches.

"He Was Getting Worse"

AT FORT KNOX, CASSIDY SPENT MOST OF his time alone in his room with his laptop computer and Xbox video game. "While he was at Fort Knox," his wife says, "he was actually getting worse." He met with his case manager weekly but saw Kearney, his psychiatrist and only regular doctor, barely once a month. Their first visit was on May 30, 2007, nearly two months after he arrived at Fort Knox. "Alert and smiles throughout the interview, is anxious," Kearney typed into Cassidy's file. "He was under fire and under constant stress and was mortared frequently." Kearney prescribed Valium and another medication in addition to the other drugs the soldier was already taking.

But while the pills sometimes worked, they didn't keep the headaches at bay. "We kept asking, 'What's the treatment plan here?'" his wife recalls. "There was never an answer for that." After a terrible headache drove Cassidy to Fort Knox's emergency room, Kearney prescribed methadone for the first time on Sept. 13.

Cassidy's final day of Army medical care began early on Tuesday, Sept. 18. That morning the Fort Knox medical clinic noted that he was "awake, alert, oriented to time, place and person, well developed, well nourished, well hydrated, healthy appearing, in no acute distress." A short time later, Cassidy met with Kearney, who observed in his file that "the methadone worked for the headache ... used 40 mg without difficulty or too much sedation." So Kearney wrote a prescription for 16 more 10-mg methadone tablets "for severe pain" after discussing "potential side effects with patient who indicated understanding." Cassidy showed no suicidal inclinations, Kearney added.

About lunchtime, Cassidy spoke by telephone with his mother Kay McMullen. "Mom, there's a lift dropping huge bundles of shingles on top of the roof," she says he told her. "It seems like I'm back in Iraq again—my head is pounding." But around dinnertime he had an upbeat conversation

with Melissa. He talked happily about visiting home the next weekend. Two weeks after that, he was to return for good and continue treatment at a civilian hospital.

Melissa was unable to reach her husband on his cell phone later that night or the next day. By Thursday, she became anxious after he had failed to respond to her four messages. On Friday morning, she called and found his voice mail was full. Moments later, her apprehension turned into panic when she dialed into his cell-phone messages and found he hadn't listened to any of them, including her good-night call on Tuesday.

She immediately dialed Kearney and her husband's platoon sergeant, but they didn't answer. She reached a soldier at his barracks who promised to hunt him



Home at Last

Cassidy is buried in Westfield, Ind., about 3 miles (5 km) from the home of his family, who visit at least once a week

down. When Melissa hadn't heard anything by mid-afternoon, she called the barracks again and spoke to Sergeant Rorry Martin, another outpatient. She asked him to check to see whether her husband had applied on Wednesday, as required, for his weekend pass. When they spoke again four hours later, Martin told Melissa that Cassidy had not applied for a weekend pass and that a knock on his door had gotten no response.

Martin promised he would find her husband, but when she hadn't heard from him by 6:45, Melissa placed another call to Martin's cell phone. "I haven't got in yet, I haven't got in yet," Martin told her, voice shaking. "Let me call you back, sweetie." Then he hung up. "I knew," Melissa says quietly, "something was terribly wrong."

After another hour, Colonel Rhonda Earls, the hospital commander, got on the phone to give Melissa the news. "Mrs. Cassidy, I regret to inform you that we found your husband in the barracks, and he is dead." A military chaplain and casualty-assistance officer arrived at the house at about midnight.

Killed by the System

MARTIN, WHO FOUND CASSIDY'S BODY, can still recall his horror but says he understands how it happened. "Nobody there had accountability for nobody," he says. Sergeant Jim Hunt, who lived in the Fort Knox barracks from January to July 2007, says only about half of those who were supposed to show up for mandatory formations—at 7 a.m., 1 p.m. and 4:30 p.m.—actually did.

Five days after Cassidy's death, the Government Accountability Office told Congress that more than half the *WRTS* had "significant shortfalls" in key positions. At Fort Knox, more than half the squad-leader positions—those most responsible for Cassidy's well-being—were unfilled. An Army report on *TBI* released in January also offered a grim assessment,

finding "no specific standards" for dealing with the *TBI* problem, "major gaps" in coordinating care and "no medical-provider core competencies." Now the Army is rushing to catch up, setting up screening tools and treatment plans to deal with *TBI* and a "center of excellence" dedicated to the challenge.

A month after Cassidy's death, the Army removed from command the three soldiers most responsible for his well-being. The Army suspended Kearney on Jan. 11 after an aide to Indiana Senator Evan Bayh, who has been probing the circumstances surrounding Cassidy's death, complained that he was still seeing patients. (Kearney says he did nothing wrong and is a victim of political pressure.) "The enemy could not kill him, but our own government did," Bayh said of Cassidy. The Senator has succeeded in requiring the Army to make sure wounded soldiers are sent to the "most appropriate" facility for care and to set time limits on delivery of that care.

But for some, such reforms come too late. Cassidy's death was the first in a string of at least three that led to urgent meetings at the Pentagon earlier this month on how to prevent them. They included soldiers who died in late January at *WRTS* in New York and Texas. Lieut. General Eric Schoemaker, the Army's top doctor, told *TIME* that easy access to drugs and lack of accountability played key roles in Cassidy's death. "If there's any good to come of this at all," Schoemaker said, "it's that we will work as hard as we possibly can to prevent any recurrence." But moments later, he conceded that while Cassidy is the first such death, he's "not an isolated case. We know of several others at this point." Once again, Sergeant Cassidy is leading soldiers in a war not of his making. ■

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The Warrior Lawyer

As Pakistan votes, its leading activist is under house arrest. How Aitzaz Ahsan became Musharraf's biggest headache—and democracy's best hope

BY ARYN BAKER/LAHORE

THE FIRST WORD AITZAZ AHSAN LEARNED was a catchphrase of political protest. He was an infant in 1946, when his mother was among a group of political activists imprisoned for opposing a British appointed administrator in what was then colonial India. In defiance of their jailers, the prisoners kept up their call-and-response sloganizing. Somebody would shout out, "Khizr wazirat" ("Minister Khizr's rule"). The rest would respond, "Torda!" ("Break it!"). Soon little Ahsan was joining in with the chorus. Long after the independence of Pakistan and India in 1947, Ahsan's quavering "Torda!" echoed through the family home, a parlor trick guaranteed to amuse the guests.

Six decades later, Ahsan is still trying to break authoritarian rule. Now president of Pakistan's Supreme Court Bar Association, he led tens of thousands of lawyers and

has dropped his own plans to run for Parliament, saying that Pakistan's political system will remain compromised so long as the country lacks an independent judiciary. "The ballot will not provide all the solutions to the problems Pakistan faces today," he says. "You cannot have democracy without a free judiciary."

Despite Musharraf's efforts to silence them, activists like Ahsan aren't going away. And in the long run, Ahsan's pro-democracy movement may threaten Musharraf's grip on power as much as the jihadist insurgency that has made parts of the country ungovernable. The lawyers' demonstrations exposed Musharraf's growing unpopularity among his own people. Musharraf had hoped to salvage some legitimacy by entering an ill-fated partnership with former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. (Ahsan is a member of her Pakistan People's Party [PPP], but she didn't support the lawyers' movement.) Bhutto was already backing away from a power-sharing deal when she was assassinated on Dec. 27. Now the PPP and other opposition groups are expected to win big in the election, and Musharraf, even though he is not running, looks highly vulnerable.

That troubles the Bush Administration, which fears that if Musharraf falls, he could be replaced by a less malleable leader unwilling to do America's bidding in the war on terrorism. And yet Ahsan argues that Musharraf's weakness isn't necessarily a bad thing. "The weapons to fight the war on terrorism are an empowered people who are assured that no man can arbitrarily impose his will upon their lives," he says. But he worries that ordinary Pakistanis will not be empowered by the Feb. 18 vote. Bhutto's widower Asif Zardari has pointedly refused to rule out a postelection understanding with Musharraf, and any such deal would be a blow to Ahsan's quest to reinstate the sacked judges. If the Bush Administration encourages such a deal, Ahsan says, it would be going against its promises to promote democracy in Pakistan.

Ahsan's personal popularity assures

him a role in Pakistan's future; many political analysts see him as Prime Minister material. For now, though, he intends to keep up whatever pressure he can on Musharraf. Despite a phalanx of armed police at the entrance to his street in Lahore, he occasionally manages to smuggle out letters and opinion pieces. Even in confinement, he remains a powerful symbol for pro-democracy activists. Protesters regularly gather in front of his empty residence in Islamabad to launch fresh demonstrations. Each time they are met with an increasingly violent police response. During a demonstration on Feb. 9, riot police added a water cannon to their usual barrage of batons and tear-gas shells, but the protesters were undaunted. "We are on the streets not for politics but for rule of law," said Naila Zahid, one of the protesters, her eyes red and streaming from the tear gas. "And we will remain on the streets until we get it."

Ahsan sounds more conciliatory. He talks of a "grand new compact" among the army, the political parties and the judiciary to defeat extremist forces and restore democracy. There may even be a role for Musharraf, Ahsan adds, but he must first restore the constitution, reinstate the sacked judges and submit to the law. "I am not just saying 'Torda,'" says Ahsan. "I am also saying 'Jorda,' which means 'Fix it, put it together, repair it.' And I think this nation needs to be put back together."

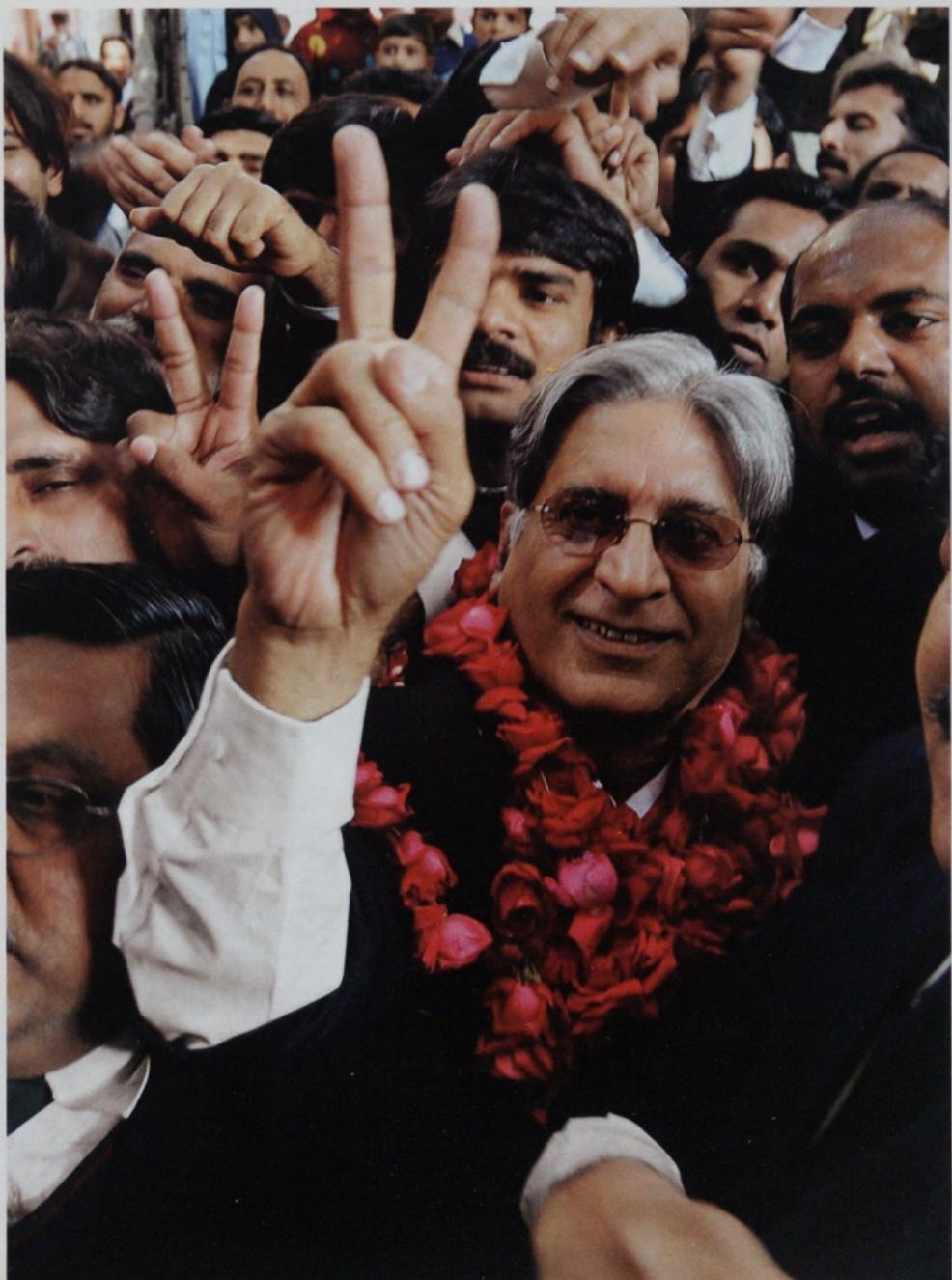
'The weapons to fight the war on terrorism are an empowered people who are assured that no man can arbitrarily impose his will upon their lives.'

—AITZAZ AHSAN, PRO-DEMOCRACY ACTIVIST

other pro-democracy activists in nationwide demonstrations last summer after President Pervez Musharraf sacked the independent-minded Chief Justice. The protests received little more than token support from the Bush Administration, but they rattled Musharraf, prompting him to suspend the constitution, dismiss the Supreme Court and lock up hundreds of political and civic leaders. Among them was Ahsan, who has been under house arrest (and briefly in jail) since Nov. 3. It's a telling comment about the state of political freedom in Pakistan that, with the country set to vote in a Feb. 18 general election, its most respected democrat is confined to his home in Lahore's Zaman Park neighborhood. Ahsan, a Cambridge-educated lawyer and former Law Minister,



Dampened but undaunted Protesting lawyers are blasted by a police water cannon at a Feb. 9 demonstration in Islamabad. The arrest of Ahsan, right, has not halted their movement



The Celtic Threebound

Kevin Garnett, Ray Allen and Paul Pierce were aging, singular NBA stars, sans title. But united at once awful Boston, the trio has led the team back to the top

BY SEAN GREGORY/WALTHAM, MASS.



WE'VE SEEN THIS ACT IN sports before. A group of sterling individual talents thrust together on the same team, expectations raised to the rafters.

A title? Slam dunk. On paper, they look unbeatable. The '99 Houston Rockets, for example, had Charles Barkley, Hakeem Olajuwon and Scottie Pippen. The New York Yankees—every year their lineup looks like a world beater.

Too many times, these quick fixes fail; the inflated egos can't fit into the same arena. Those Rockets lost in the first round of the playoffs. The Yankees haven't won a World Series in seven years. So how do you explain the 2008

'The three of us have carried teams in the past, and the only thing we need to prove is that we want to win a championship.'

—BOSTON CELTICS GUARD RAY ALLEN, EXPLAINING THE TEAM'S EARLY-SEASON DOMINANCE

Boston Celtics? Last season, the Cs, one of the most celebrated sport franchises, winners of 16 titles, were the joke of the NBA. They finished 24-58 and at one point doormatted 18 straight games. During the off-season, Celtics GM Danny Ainge pulled off a pair of heists, bringing Kevin Garnett, the 6-ft. 11-in. (2.1 m) ex-MVP who is one of the most versatile players ever, and sweet-shooting guard Ray Allen to Boston. There they joined Paul Pierce, an automatic scorer and a six-time All-Star himself. Nice. But none of these guys have ever sniffed a championship. And they have only one ball to share.

Yet the Celtics are a stunning 40-9, the best in the NBA. When you sit down with Boston's cerebral Big Three, they'll

tell you about *ubuntu*, the South African unity principle preached by coach Doc Rivers. But dig a little deeper and you'll discover less esoteric explanations behind Boston's success.

Like thank goodness these guys stank last year—or at least their teams did. "First and foremost, it only works when you have guys who have been on teams that have struggled," says Allen, whose Seattle SuperSonics finished in last place in their division. "The three of us have carried teams in the past, and the only thing we need to prove is that we want to win a championship." Garnett missed the playoffs in Minnesota; Pierce admits that basketball became a "drag."

Celtics fans: you're lucky they're not young whippersnappers, dingbats in their 20s seeking the stats for an insane contract. "When you are young, you are trying to secure yourself," says Pierce, 30. (Read: Just give me the damn ball.) "You look at us three—we've made millions of dollars. We've won tons of awards. So we look at each other and say, 'Hey, what's left to do?'" Allen is 32, Garnett 31—old enough to buy their own team yet young enough to still score at will.

We shouldn't totally dismiss that more mysterious component of team success: chemistry. Kicking back in the players' lounge at the team's Waltham, Mass., training facility, Allen, Garnett and Pierce are loose, introspective and quick to pounce. Garnett calls Allen stubborn, and Allen predicts that if Pierce doesn't shave his head, he'll grow George Jefferson hair. The trio's personal history helps. Garnett and Allen were Olympic teammates in 2000 and have known each other since their South Carolina schoolboy days; Garnett and Pierce played as teens for the same Amateur Athletic Union team.

It's easy to get them going about issues. Allen thinks the NBA's interminable 82-game regular season waters down the action. "I would cut the games

back," he says. "You're going to see a level of intensity go up." In a sports world consumed with wiping out drugs, Garnett, who was chosen for the Feb. 17 All-Star game but has an abdominal strain, would offer a curious reform. "We're drug tested too much," he says. "We're very funny about our routines. The policy is set up now where, on game day, they can come get you, take you. If you can't go, you'll sit there—they'll hound you."

I ask them about two recent books, both written by African-American journalists, that argue that today's black athletes have largely abdicated their social responsibility. There's no compelling need for it, says Pierce. "We don't have to deal with a lot of racism. It's not as open and as broad as it was back in the day. And that's why there's not as many of us who step in that position." Each of them has done noble charitable work, but Allen argues that a big paycheck doesn't equate with a platform. "You could have made money picking up roadkill," he says. "Now you have this big company where you've got people all over the world picking up roadkill. You've got \$70 million in the bank. That doesn't make you knowledgeable about world hunger." Allen's inquisitive mind often wanders off to unexpected, some would say bizarre, areas.

Yes, their chemistry is refreshing. But will the buddy act last if one of the Big Three itches for more shots? Will Allen, Garnett and Pierce be able to exorcise their postseason demons? Will a no-name supporting cast sustain the Celtics?

"Just because you haven't heard of someone doesn't mean they're not effective," says Garnett of Boston's role players. "That's exactly how you get beat." Garnett surely knows enough about losing. With his two wingmen, he can finally talk tough on how to win big.

CELTIC PROS AT TIME.COM
For a Q&A (with video) with Boston's Big Three, go to time.com/celtics



Partnership Allen,
Pierce and Garnett are
making their case for a
selfless Celtics title run



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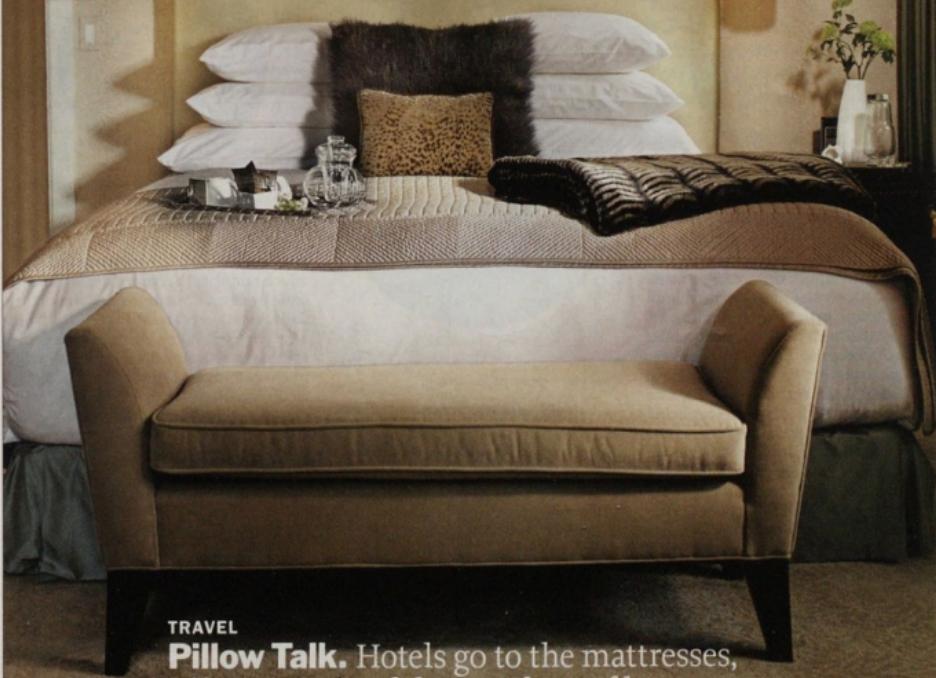
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When prices are falling, few people buy, but those who do pull the trigger excel in the long run

DAN KADLEC, RIGHT ON YOUR MONEY, PAGE 54



TRAVEL

Pillow Talk. Hotels go to the mattresses, offering some of the comforts of home

BY LISA MC LAUGHLIN

IT WASN'T LONG AGO THAT THE ONE THING a hotel didn't promise was the thing it nominally exists to provide: a good night's sleep. Beyond a wake-up call and a chocolate on the pillow, it was all up to the guest. Those days are long gone. Hotels both large and small are engaged in a battle to see who can be the most luxurious, and at the

center of the war is the bed. That chocolate is now likely to be imported and artisanally made; the pillow, covered in a 400-thread-count, organically grown cotton case and accompanied by other fluffy luxuries, all designed with sleep in mind.

Hotels competing to offer the best in sleep are creating super-slumber chambers, with soft lighting, modified mini-bars stocked with herbal teas, and more.

Climb in At the Hotel Monaco in Chicago, sweet dreams are a sure thing in the KN Tranquility Suite



A sleep concierge The hotel's Anya Orlanska contacts guests before arrival to determine their sleep preferences



The right temperature For optimum sleep, the hotel recommends setting the thermostat at 70°F (21°C) and keeping the lighting dim before bed

Sleep Aids. The ABCs of many more zzz's

At the Benjamin Hotel in New York City, a good night's sleep is guaranteed. Here's how the establishment makes good on the promise



The pillow library Guests can choose from or combine 11 kinds of pillows, including memory foam, buckwheat, full body and water-filled



Bedtime snack Comfort foods like cookies, peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwiches and banana bread may help guests feel drowsy



An old reliable Milk contains alpha-lactalbumin, a protein rich in tryptophan that sends signals to the brain, lulling it to sleep

Take the KN Tranquility Suite, created for the Hotel Monaco in Chicago by pajama designer Karen Neuberger, with soothing colors and luxe bamboo bedding. Or consider the Fairmont Washington D.C., where the sleep menu includes a de-stress neck massage, an in-room yoga sleep class, herbal teas or smoothies with lavender cookies, and a teddy bear. "It does help," says business traveler Emily Gilden, whose frequent trips often left her weary until she started exploring hotels that had sleep amenities. "I'm less cranky about being away from home."

For overworked Americans, sleep and the products that promise a good night of it have become an obsession. "Whether our guests are traveling for business or pleasure, one of the most important things they want is a good night's sleep," says Von DeLuna, general manager of the Hotel Burnham in Chicago, where guests can check out any of eight kinds of pillows from the hotel's pillow library. "We have a 100% natural buckwheat-hull pillow; a snore-reducing pillow, which really works; full-length body pillows; special

eye pillows—whatever people need to sleep better." DeLuna notes that while guests travel to experience something new, when it comes to the bed, they often want to replicate the comforts of their own. "We used to have lots of people bringing their pillows from home with them," he says.

At New York's City's 70 Park Avenue Hotel, general manager Ericka Nelson agrees that everything starts with the pillow, a belief she came by the hard way. Her husband snores, and it took the right selection of pillows to keep her comfortable and him quiet throughout the night. "When we check into a hotel," she says, "the first thing that we do is divide up the pillows." On March 3, her hotel will open its own pillow library to celebrate National Sleep Awareness Week, but it has been in the sleep-amenities game for a while. The hotel already offers Frette sheets, with matching pajamas available; dvns of yoga sleep techniques; and a natural chocolate drink called the Dreamerz Chocolate S'nores.

Other hotels are designing sleep amenities to fit their individual personalities. At La Mansion del Rio in San Antonio, hand-crafted worry dolls are placed in rooms

every night, a nod to Yanaguana folklore, which promises that your cares will evaporate by dawn if you transfer them to the dolls as you sleep. The Milliken Creek Inn & Spa in Napa Valley, Calif., offers a package that includes the Good Night Sleep Kit by Deepak Chopra. And at the Hard Rock Hotel San Diego, the "vibe manager" will create a playlist of mellow music (ranging from Simon and Garfunkel to Morcheeba) as part of its turndown service.

The Benjamin Hotel in New York City perhaps goes the furthest to ensure slumber. It actually guarantees a restful night. If you don't sleep as well as at home, it will refund the cost of your stay. The hotel improves its odds with a secret weapon: sleep concierge Anya Orlanska, who contacts guests by e-mail before arrival to determine their preferences and needs. "I would say 80% of our guests take advantage of this service," she says. Orlanska helps them choose from 11 types of pillows, including hypoallergenic and water-filled models, a jelly neck roll and a 5-ft. (1.5 m) body cushion. The rooms have blackout curtains and soundproof windows. "We also can arrange for spa treatments, comfort foods like peanut butter and jelly or milk and cookies before bed and white-noise machines," she says.

Lullabies aren't included at the Benjamin, but at the hotel Andaz in London, columnist and BBC playwright Damian Barr will read bedtime stories to guests all through March. Sweet dreams.

'Guests want, expect to be well rested. It's one of the most elemental things.'

—ERICKA NELSON, GENERAL MANAGER, 70 PARK AVENUE HOTEL

Little Athletes, Big Injuries.

Kids suffer when coaches and parents pile on too much training. What to watch for

BY KATE STINCHFIELD

IT OUGHT TO BE HARD TO TAKE THE FUN out of play, but if you're an overambitious parent or coach with a young athlete in your charge, you may have managed to do it. Weekly sessions of intensive muscle-strengthening, grueling push-up regimens and long intervals on fast-paced treadmills are becoming common for grade-school kids. Elite training centers that promise to give young athletes an edge during the off-season have been popping up since 2000, especially in affluent sections of New England and the Midwest.

To sports-medicine professionals, that's a worrying trend. Hard-core training can do kids more harm than good—particularly if they're under 12. As more children are pushed beyond their physical limits, sports injuries once reserved largely for the pros are turning up in the playground set.

A young body that's worked too hard can suffer in a lot of ways, but it's the bones that take the worst pounding. Activities like skating uphill on a Plexiglas surface, which allows skaters to strengthen their strides, or doing the explosive muscle-building movements known as plyometrics can wreak havoc on the skeletal system, particularly the epiphyseal plate, or growth plate, which is essential in bone development—a process that is not complete until the late teens.

Harming a plate before a child hits puberty can affect the way the bones grow. "I saw one kid who was asked to do multiple plyometric jumps through the pain, and he pulled a growth plate off his knee," says Dr. Jordan Metzl, a member of the American College of Sports Medicine's youth sports committee. "Another kid tore a piece of plate off his hip from using too high weights while lunging and squatting."

The Big Hurt. Train like a pro, and you'll break like one too

Any athlete can be damaged by overwork, but none more than kids under 12, who are developing injuries once suffered only in the college and professional ranks

BASEBALL Pitching is not a natural motion, and too much of it can damage the rotator cuff in the shoulder or cause Little League elbow, a stress injury that leads to growth issues in the near term and post-traumatic arthritis later on.



FOOTBALL Moderate weight-training can help build bone density, but when coaches heap on too much weight, young football players can suffer stress fractures in the lower back.



SOCCER A heavy combination of high-stress muscle-training and too much running can cause a host of injuries, like tendon tears, shin splints and damage to the kneecap.



There are other problems as well. Tommy John ligament surgery, an elbow procedure named after the Los Angeles Dodgers pitcher who was the first to undergo it, used to be limited to players in their 20s and older, but it is now performed on kids as young as 12—not surprising if they started pitching excessively at age 8 or 9. Similarly, stress fractures in the backs of middle-school football and soccer players have nearly doubled over the past decade as a result of overtraining.

No one is saying that kids shouldn't play sports or even that they shouldn't

You shouldn't be training a 9-to-12-year-old to be a superstar. You should be thinking down the road.'

—DR. MICHAEL BERGERON

train. But "you shouldn't be training a 9-to-12-year-old to be a superstar," says Dr. Michael Bergeron of the Medical College of Georgia. "You should be thinking down the road so they can be that superstar at 18." That's what some training centers are now aiming to do. The coaches at BlueStreak Sports Training in Stamford, Conn., for example, assess each athlete's risk for knee injury, paying particular attention to girls, who are six times as likely as boys to injure their knees for a number of reasons, including basic anatomy, muscle strength and hormonal differences. The most vulnerable athletes are then required to wear a bracelet while training as a warning to coaches to take it slow.

But the biggest adjustment will have to be a psychological one: persuading coaches with unrealistic performance standards and parents with the means to pay an average of \$900 for a six-week training session that they must back off and put the health of the child first. "Sports used to be this wonderful even playing field," says Regan McMahon, a writer for the *San Francisco Chronicle* who has covered the professionalization of youth sports. "Now it's the rich kids who make the team. It's the upper-middle-class parents who can afford all of these supplemental programs."

In fairness to the grownups, the kids themselves need to relax too. "I'm a kid who stays focused and works hard," says Connor Humphrey, an earnest 14-year-old football and lacrosse player in New Canaan, Conn. "I have goals for the future. I want to play lacrosse at Duke." That dream is commendable, but while pushing young bodies to the limit may mean more time in the game, it can just as easily mean a lifetime on the bench.



Tuning Up the House

Want to make your home as energy efficient as possible—but don't know how? See Joe Harberg

JOE HARBERG BECAME AN ENERGY-efficiency guru because he didn't know the first thing about energy efficiency. In 2003 he was constructing a new home in Dallas and wanted to work with his builder to make the place as environmentally friendly as possible. But neither Harberg nor his designer had any training in how to turn an ordinary house green, and they found few resources to help them. "It was so frustrating," says Harberg, 46, a Dallas-based entrepreneur.

Relying principally on the Internet, Harberg—who previously had worked as a marketing expert and real estate developer—did manage to build an energy-efficient home. He boasts that his electricity bills are regularly 50% less than those of similar homes in his neighborhood, and the entrepreneur in him saw an opportunity. Lots of people

worry about global warming, not to mention the soaring costs of powering a home, but they don't know what to do about it. Working with his brother-in-law Josh Stern, Harberg helped launch what would become Current Energy, in 2005, to provide the needed expertise. "We aspire to be the ones who put it all together for you," Harberg says.

Today Current Energy operates what is probably the first dedicated energy-efficiency retail store in the U.S., a hip space in Dallas' tony Highland Park where shoppers can buy ultraefficient air conditioners, tankless water heaters and even electric votive candles. But while the store itself is green cool—reminiscent of the Apple retail shops that Harberg helped roll out in his previous career—the real value in Current Energy isn't in its gadgets but in the services it offers. "It's

an art to figure out how to save money at home," Harberg says. "We do the work."

Homeowners who come to Current Energy can order an energy audit—a socket-to-faucet analysis of how to eliminate energy and water waste. After receiving the report, customers can follow as many of the recommendations as they wish, with Current Energy employ-

'It's an art to figure out how to save money at home. We do the work.'

—JOE HARBERG, PRINCIPAL PARTNER, CURRENT ENERGY

ees involved in the installation work—down to changing the lightbulbs. Joseph VanBlargan, a writer, secured an assessment for his Dallas home and estimates that the upgrades save him about 30% on his monthly energy bill. "I could have done it on my own, but there would have been bits and parts I would have missed," he says. Greenies who live outside Dallas will soon be able to get an energy assessment from currentenergy.com, and the company will work with licensed auditors in your town to carry out the improvements.

What Current Energy does isn't as easy as it looks. Maximizing the efficiency in your home means more than just chucking your incandescent lightbulbs. You might improve your attic insulation to prevent the loss of heat in the winter, but go overboard, and you could end up choking on indoor air pollution. Just as a house is more than four walls and a door, energy efficiency should be holistic, with insulation, appliances, lighting and clean electricity all working together.

That's a message the tireless Harberg—who could probably power Texas Stadium if you plugged him into the grid—spreads with zeal. He hosts a weekly radio call-in show and was recently on the TV show *Good Morning Texas* touting the benefits of an indoor air-quality monitor. "You're saving people money and saving the earth at the same time," he says excitedly. As business plans go, that's an awfully good one. ■

Joe's Green Shopping List

At its retail location and online, Current Energy sells a wide range of energy-efficiency gadgets:

- 1) **Digitron PowerCost Monitor** provides real-time data on your energy consumption, \$185
- 2) **Magic Globe**, a solar-powered light, \$50
- 3) **Solio Solar Charger** is a way to power all those electronic devices with the sun, \$99
- 4) **Solar Backpack** lets you carry your laptop—and charge it for free, \$140
- 5) **Kill A Watt Electricity Meter** monitors the power use and cost of any appliance, \$40





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Ignore the Headlines!

Except this one. Sure, housing's in a hole. But there's a potent case for buying now, whether it's real estate or stocks

FAMED MONEY MANAGER PETER LYNCH is perhaps best known for his timeless wisdom that you can beat the pros by focusing on stocks of companies where you either work or shop or have some other edge. But a more relevant Lynchism today is this gem: Ignore the headlines.

That's no easy thing. How do you tune out all the chatter and ink on recession, housing, subprime woes, the credit crunch, rogue traders, insolvent bond insurers, \$100 oil and nukes in Iran? It's enough to make you sit on your thumbs and wait before making any big moves. But what, exactly, are you waiting for?

There has rarely been a moment in history when you couldn't scare yourself into doing nothing. And yet, as Lynch observed nearly 20 years ago, "in spite of all the great and minor calamities that have occurred... all the thousands of reasons that the world might be coming to an end—owning stocks has continued to be twice as rewarding as owning bonds."

A top reason to not buy stocks, in Lynch's view, is if you don't already own a home—in which case, that should be your first investment, since an owner-occupied home is nearly always profitable. Through a spokesman, Lynch reaffirmed these views to me—housing debacle and all.

When prices are falling, few people have the discipline to buy stocks, a house, gold, art or any other asset. But those who do pull the trigger excel in the long run. As John D. Rockefeller famously said, "The way to make money is to buy when blood is running in the streets."

And the streets are stained crimson. Start with stocks. They have been pummeled this year. GDP braked sharply

last quarter, and there has been plenty of panic about a recession. The Federal Reserve is slashing short-term interest rates at the fastest clip in decades. But if you stick to your steady, diversified plan while everyone else is retreating, you will be happy years from now. For one thing, Fed rate cuts always lift the economy eventually, and the stock market typically starts responding just as headlines get gloomiest. Sure, the market could fall again before recovering. But the recession may be half over already—or we may avoid one altogether. You just never know.

As for housing, certainly some skepticism is in order. Formerly sizzling markets in Florida, Nevada, Arizona and California probably haven't seen the worst headlines just yet, though they may well be close.

The Case Against Waiting to Buy

Finance costs will rise as the economy recovers, so trying to time real estate might not pay off



TODAY		COST IN 12 MONTHS?	
\$218,900	Put 20% down and get a 30-year fixed-rate mortgage	\$197,010	If prices drop an additional 10%
5.5%	Typical home price	6%	
Current rates after recent declines	Interest rate	Recession ends, and the Fed starts to raise rates	
\$994.31	Monthly payment	\$994.94	

CONCLUSION: If you waited a year to buy, you **would have saved nothing** and spent a year living someplace you'd rather not be

Source: Lending Tree

And "jumbo" mortgages, those more than \$417,000, are likely to remain artificially high for a few more months while banks work through their credit issues.

But let's say you are emotionally ready to be a homeowner. You have good credit, plan to stay put for five years and have been waiting for the perfect entry point. It's time to get serious—before an inevitable rise in interest rates wipes out your advantage. "The thing that will make home prices stop falling is the very same thing that will push mortgage rates higher," says Jim Svinth, chief economist at mortgage firm Lending Tree. So anything you gain by a further drop in prices might be offset by rising financing costs.

Consider a typical home that sells for \$218,900. You put down 20% and get

a 30-year fixed-rate mortgage at today's rate of 5.5%. Monthly principal and interest come to \$994.31. Let's say that 12 months from now the same house goes for 10% less, or \$197,010. But by then the recession is history and the Fed is jacking up rates to stem inflation. If mortgage costs rise just half a point, to 6%, your monthly payment would be \$994.94 and you'd have saved nothing. Meanwhile, home prices might steady and sellers might become less willing to negotiate. And you have spent a year living someplace you'd rather not be.

It's more complicated if you must sell before you can buy. But that logjam won't persist forever—and if it appears you'll be trapped for a few years, try to refinance at today's lower rates. Risks always seem most acute when the headlines give you ulcers. But that's exactly when you should think long term—and get off your thumbs.

**It's not just about where your dreams will take you.
It's where you take your dreams.**



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Arts

MOVIES DOWNTIME



MOVIES

The 800-lb. Golden Gorilla.

An Academy Award is the ultimate stamp of quality. But what does it really reward?

IT IS THE MAGIC PHRASE THAT BRINGS luster to any career, sells tickets at the box office, moves millions of DVDs. It's the gold standard for the film industry, pop culture's equivalent of the Nobel Prize. Get one, and when you die, the headline on your obit will proclaim OSCAR WINNER.

On Feb. 24, the industry's glamourati will assemble in all their post-writers'-strike glory at the Kodak Theatre in Los Angeles for the 80th awards bash of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. Hundreds of millions of people around the world will tune in as prizes are doled out to films most of the TV viewers haven't seen. They watch in part because the laying on of statuettes is meant to signify the designation of supreme cinematic quality. The Best Picture winner will be able to claim parity with such enduring masterworks as *The Greatest Show on Earth*, *Around the World in 80 Days*, *Marty*, *Oliver!*, *Ordinary People*...

Wait a minute. Those stuffed turkeys and middling domestic dramas won Best Picture? Yes, they did. All right, we'll try again... with such enduring masterpieces as *King Kong*, *The Wizard of Oz*, *Citizen Kane*, *Psycho*, *2001: A Space Odyssey*, *Raging Bull*... Oops, sorry again. None of those films won the top Oscar, and half weren't even nominated for Best Picture. But what about the acting categories? Surely Hollywood has recognized its most potent performers. Not always. If this year's nominated actors want to join the exalted ranks of Charlie Chaplin, Greta Garbo, Cary Grant, Peter O'Toole and Barbara Stanwyck, they'd better hope they lose, since none of these luminaries received a competitive Oscar.

So is the Academy Award a long-term guarantee of a film's quality, a leading indicator of acting excellence? Not really.

Sometimes Oscar's taste is validated by history. There are five Best Picture winners among the Top 10 honorees on the American Film Institute's list of the all-time best

movies: *Gone With the Wind*, *Casablanca*, *Lawrence of Arabia*, *The Godfather* and *Schindler's List*. It's also true that the best-grossing film of any decade has usually won Best Picture: *Gone With the Wind* in the '30s, *The Best Years of Our Lives* in the '40s, *Ben-Hur* in the '50s, *The Sound of Music* in the '60s, *Titanic* in the '90s and the final *Lord of the Rings* film this decade.

Too often, though, the Academy has rewarded films at the high end of mediocrity, operating within a narrow band of reassuring realism. They're called "movies of quality," which really means movies of piety—stories of cozy spiritual uplift (*Mrs. Miniver*, *Going My Way*) or, more recently, of superior damaged creatures (*Rain Man*, *A Beautiful Mind*). And they're often chosen over edgier fare. Thus, in 1977 the soft-hearted *Rocky* beat four superior films (*All the President's Men*, *Bound for Glory*, *Network* and *Taxi Driver*), and in 1982 another inspirational sports movie, *Chariots of Fire*, won out over *Reds* and *Raiders of the Lost Ark*. Os-

What Was Oscar Thinking?

Raging Bull didn't win the Best Picture award, but *Rocky* did. Here's movie critic Richard Corliss's list of some of the golden guy's biggest goofs

Should Have Won

Shouldn't Have Won

BEST PICTURE		
King Kong (1) 1933 was not nominated; <i>Cavalcade</i> won	Citizen Kane 1941 lost to <i>How Green Was My Valley</i>	Psycho (2) 1960 was not nominated; <i>The Apartment</i> won
2001: A Space Odyssey (3) 1968 was not nominated; <i>Oliver!</i> won	Rocky (1) 1976 beat <i>All the President's Men</i> , <i>Bound for Glory</i> , <i>Network</i> and <i>Taxi Driver</i>	Ordinary People 1980 beat <i>Raging Bull</i> and <i>The Elephant Man</i>
Pulp Fiction 1994 lost to <i>Forrest Gump</i>	Gandhi (2) 1982 beat <i>Tootsie</i> and <i>E.T.: The Extra-Terrestrial</i>	Shakespeare in Love 1998 beat <i>Saving Private Ryan</i>
Crash (3) 2005 beat <i>Brokeback Mountain</i>	Rocky (3) 2006 beat <i>Million Dollar Baby</i>	Million Dollar Baby (1) 2007 beat <i>There Will Be Blood</i>

car also ignores pictures deemed too weird (i.e., modern) or infra dig (i.e., genre films). In judging movie acting, the Academy is often slow to notice the arrival of talent ready to shake up or reshape a staid industry.

Citizen Kane is the definitive litmus test, and Oscar failed it. At the top of nearly every critics' poll as the best film of all time, Orson Welles' debut movie was praised to the skies when it opened in 1941. But the resemblance of *Charles Foster Kane* to publisher William Randolph Hearst cues a campaign to suppress the movie, and *Kane* flopped in its initial release. In addition, many in the industry ranked at Welles' boy-genius rep and may have resented the freedom this first-timer was given by his studio, RKO. Under these circumstances, it's probably a miracle that the film received nine Oscar nominations, including three for Welles as actor, director and co-screenwriter. In the end, it won only for the screenplay, and John Ford's *How Green Was My Valley* took Best Picture. That study

Too often the Academy has rewarded films at the high end of mediocrity, operating within a narrow band of reassuring realism. 'Movies of quality' really means movies of piety

of Welsh family values is a film of intelligent sentiment, but, as has been said about many a movie since—it's no *Citizen Kane*.

The *Kane* quandary illustrates some of the problems with the Academy Awards: political pressure, suspicion of outsiders, resistance to innovation. But the main and abiding limitation is the people who pick the Oscars. We're not saying that the Academy members are ignorant, that they don't know their business. That's the problem: they all know that movies are a business. And they're a part of it. The people

whose names are on the ballot may be their friends or their enemies or their potential employers. In addition, lobbying in Hollywood at Oscar time is as pervasive as it is in Washington anytime. Harvey Weinstein was so expert at campaigning when he and his brother Bob ran Miramax Films that, the prevailing wisdom has it, he cajoled his way to a Best Picture prize for the modest *Shakespeare in Love* over Steven Spielberg's odds-on favorite, *Saving Private Ryan*.

Since the great majority of the voters live or work in the Los Angeles area, there is little motive to reward foreign-language films. Few movie lovers would deny that some of the medium's greatest works have been in tongues other than English. Yet no foreign-language film has ever won the top Oscar; only eight have been nominated—and one of them was directed by Clint Eastwood. That's less than 2% for the best films from the rest of the world.

The Academy membership, which now numbers about 5,800, is, by definition in-



James Stewart (1)
It's a Wonderful Life (1946) lost to Fredric March, *The Best Years of Our Lives*



Marlon Brando (2)
A Streetcar Named Desire (1951) lost to Humphrey Bogart, *The African Queen*



James Dean
Rebel Without a Cause (1955) was nominated for *East of Eden* but not for *Rebel*; lost to Ernest Borgnine, *Marty*



Peter O'Toole (3)
Lawrence of Arabia (1962) lost to Gregory Peck, *To Kill a Mockingbird*



Robert De Niro
Taxi Driver (1976) lost to Peter Finch, *Network*

BEST ACTOR



David Niven
Separate Tables (1958) beat Sidney Poitier and Tony Curtis, both in *The Defiant Ones*



John Wayne (1)
True Grit (1969) beat Dustin Hoffman and Jon Voight, both in *Midnight Cowboy*



Richard Dreyfuss
The Goodbye Girl (1977) beat John Travolta, *Saturday Night Fever*



William Hurt (2)
Kiss of the Spider Woman (1985) beat Jack Nicholson, *Prizzi's Honor*

Roberto Benigni (3)
Life Is Beautiful (1998) beat Tom Hanks, *Saving Private Ryan*

Bette Davis (1)
Of Human Bondage (1934) was not nominated; Claudette Colbert won for *It Happened One Night*

Greta Garbo (2)
Camille (1937) lost to Luise Rainer, *The Good Earth*

Barbara Stanwyck
The Lady Eve (1941) was not nominated; Joan Fontaine won for *Suspicion*

Harriet Andersson
Through a Glass Darkly (1961) was not nominated; Sophia Loren won for *Two Women*

Jessica Lange (3)
The Postman Always Rings Twice (1981) was not nominated; Katharine Hepburn won for *On Golden Pond*



BEST ACTRESS



Greer Garson
Mrs. Miniver (1942) beat Bette Davis, *Now, Voyager*

Grace Kelly
The Country Girl (1954) beat Audrey Hepburn, *Sabrina*

Katharine Hepburn (1)
Guess Who's Coming to Dinner (1967) beat Fay Dunaway, *Bonnie and Clyde*

Louise Fletcher (2)
One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest (1975) beat Isabelle Adjani, *The Story of Adele H.*

Gwyneth Paltrow (3)
Shakespeare in Love (1998) beat Cate Blanchett, *Elizabeth*

sular and aging. It takes a while to build a career, in the movie business like anywhere else, and by the time film folk become members of the Academy, they are usually much older than the people they are making their movies for. The advanced average age of the voters—and the gradual conservatizing of their tastes—is one explanation for the films they give prizes to. They not only wouldn't give an Oscar to, say, a Judd Apatow film but probably haven't seen one.

An Apatow movie like *The 40-Year-Old Virgin* or *Knocked Up* would labor under another handicap: it's designed to make people laugh. The top Oscar has gone to a handful of comedies (including *It Happened One Night* and *Annie Hall*), but generally the Academy prefers to be edified. The year of *Citizen Kane*, 1941, was also the year of Preston Sturges' *The Lady Eve*, today regarded as one of the great American comedies, with Stanwyck and Henry Fonda brilliant as a cardsharp predator and her millionaire prey. None of them got even a nomination for this supreme farce.

If one actor could encapsulate the limitations of the Oscar mind-set, it would be Stanwyck, who in the early '30s all but created the movies' image of the tough broad, surviving and thriving in the Depression through a wily, earthy cynicism. Stanwyck was sensational in grimy melodramas, from *Illicit* and *Night Nurse* to the immoral, immortal *Baby Face*. But she didn't get an Oscar nomination until 1938, when she broke from her normal screen character to play the nobly sacrificing mother in *Stella Dallas*. Seven years later, when she was a finalist as the rotten femme fatale of *Double Indemnity*, she lost to Ingrid Bergman, whose husband is trying to kill her in *Gaslight*. Oscar chose the wanly victimized wife over the fabulously victimizing one.

Time and again, given the choice between an actor who does great work as a maniac and another who does good work as a cutie or victim, Oscar went for the latter. Marlon Brando's Stanley Kowalski in the 1951 *A Streetcar Named Desire* is one of the major revolutionary performances in movies; it announced the arrival of the Method actor and the sexy brute in one galvanizing package. Yet Brando lost to Humphrey Bogart in *The African Queen*. The Academy went for old style over new, as it did in withholding Oscars from Brando's more sensitive brethren, Montgomery Clift and James Dean. Both were multiple nominees; neither won. And like Heath Ledger—who in *Brokeback Mountain* gave a bold, pioneering performance—neither Clift nor Dean lived long enough to be given an honorary award.

At least Clift, Dean and Ledger had the luck to be making serious dramas from

WHAT ABOUT THIS YEAR?

These are not predictions, because critics hardly ever win Oscar pools, but here's who should take home the statuette—and why

Should Win

BEST PICTURE



No Country for Old Men

A finely twisted horror-crime-western film that moves beyond genre

Shouldn't Win

BEST PICTURE



There Will Be Blood

Geyser of hype fuel this oilman epic. But psychologically, it's a big, dry well

BEST ACTOR



Johnny Depp

Sweeney Todd He's fierce, wondrous, haunted, funny, scary—and on key



Daniel Day-Lewis

There Will Be Blood A superb actor in an opaque role—it's all snarl, no soul

BEST ACTRESS



Julie Christie

Away from Her She radiates the vague cunning of dementia, its creeping oblivion



Marion Cotillard

La Vie en Rose Her Edith Piaf has the big gestures but lacks the sad internal music

Oscar-winning directors. Anyone who worked in other kinds of movies ran into the wall of the Academy's genre snobbery. Crime movies (later known as film noir) had a dark glory, a stinging postwar fatalism, but flew under the Academy's radar and beneath its contempt. Of the hundreds of westerns in the '50s, some were superb, like Ford's *The Searchers* and Howard Hawks' *Rio Bravo*, but even those A-list directors could not interest Oscar in their oaters—zero nominations for those two great films—or in John Wayne's towering performances in them.

The members usually dismissed science fiction and horror as candidates for Best Picture—from the 1933 *King Kong* (just a trick movie) to *Psycho* (just an exercise in sadism from a director, Alfred

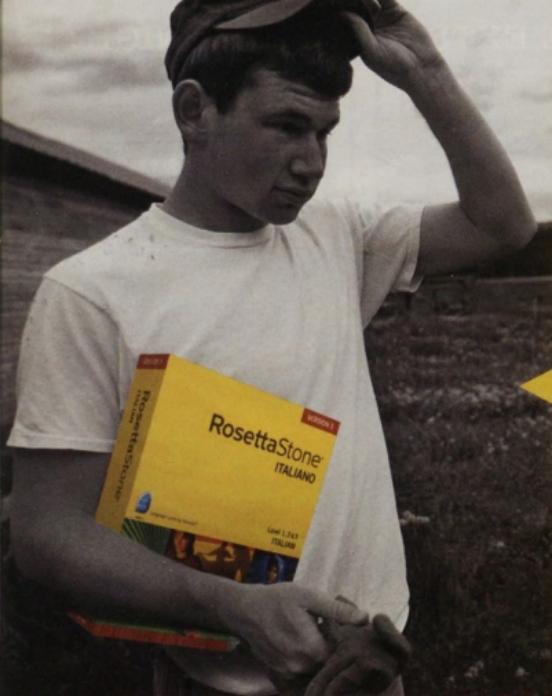
Hitchcock, who should know better) to 2001 (what was that about?). *Jaws* and *Star Wars* did get Best Picture nominations but didn't take the top prize. See, these weren't people movies; they were simply the sum of their monster or sci-fi special effects.

The '70s brought a new breed of director, steeped in movie lore and movie love, making smart films that were huge hits—and for the longest time, Oscar ignored them too. *The Godfather* won Best Picture, but its auteur, Francis Ford Coppola, was not named Best Director. (He won for *The Godfather Part II*.) Nor did the Academy give Spielberg an Oscar for *Jaws*, *Close Encounters of the Third Kind*, *Raiders of the Lost Ark* or *E.T.* (He had to wait till 1994, when *Schindler's List* took Best Picture and Best Director.) Martin Scorsese, by general acclamation the most intense and gifted director of this talented bunch, wasn't even nominated for *Taxi Driver*, then suffered a generation of indignity as his work on *Raging Bull*, *The Last Temptation of Christ*, *Goodfellas*, *Gangs of New York* and *The Aviator* lost out to that of other, lesser directors. (He finally copped the Oscar last year, at 64, for *The Departed*.) And yet they all have the edge on Hitchcock and Hawks, who never won a competitive Oscar.

Now the kids with beards—as Billy Wilder called them—are graybeards, and a younger generation is getting its turn. Paul Thomas Anderson, writer-director of the critics' darling *There Will Be Blood*, is 37. Jason Reitman, whose *Juno* is the only \$100 million box-office hit of the five Best Picture finalists, is just 30. That leaves those two sassy outsiders—Joel Coen, 53, and his brother Ethan, 50—in the mainstream, though their entry, *No Country for Old Men*, carries the double-whammy genre curse of being a kind of western-horror movie. Can it beat out Anderson's parched epic or Reitman's new-family-values comedy? Its other competitor, *Michael Clayton*, with George Clooney agonizing handsomely in a story about nasty business ethics (a favorite Academy theme, so the movie has a chance of winning), and *Atonement*, which fits the old tradition of quality, as a period romance in which beautiful people get horribly victimized.

All five films have their charms, or their poignancy, or their political message, or their steely fury—elements Oscar has often rewarded. None would shame the Academy by winning. *No Country for Old Men* has earned a ton of early awards, so it must be considered the favorite. It's marvelously assured, wonderfully gripping and acted to the hilt. It would be among the worthiest winners of the Best Picture award in the 80 years of Oscar.

It's just no *Citizen Kane*.



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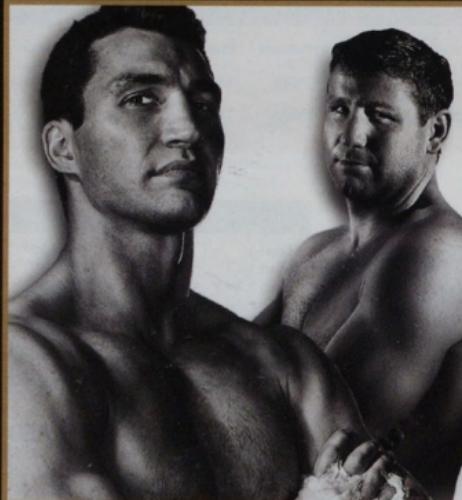
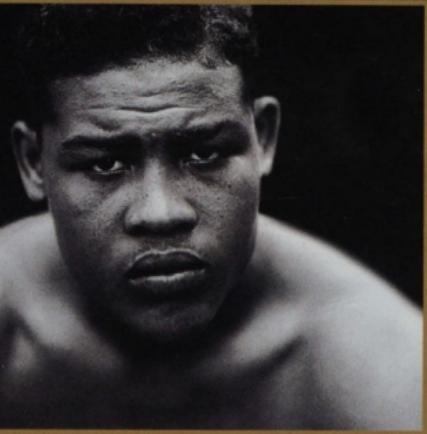
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Downtime



5 Things You Should Know About. A monster movie for kids, an underrated film on DVD and one very sharp Kink



MOVIE

The Spiderwick Chronicles *Directed by Mark Waters; rated PG; out now*

Moving with his family into an old, dark house, troubled preteen Jared (Freddie Highmore) finds a land of fairies and monsters. Conflating the five books of Tony DiTerlizzi and Holly Black's *Narnia*-lite saga into one brisk epic, *Spiderwick* pirouettes smartly between wondrous and scary, mixing kid-movie sentiment into its horror-film chills. **B**



DVD

Lubitsch Musicals *Four films directed by Ernst Lubitsch; no rating; out now*

At the dawn of sound, when silent-film expertise all but vanished, Lubitsch lent his droll wit and gliding camera to a quartet of delights—*The Love Parade*, *Monte Carlo*, *The Smiling Lieutenant* and *One Hour with You*—usually starring Maurice Chevalier and Jeanette MacDonald. Nearly 80 years later, these comic operas are still sexy, tuneful, beguiling. **A**



In the Valley of Elah *Directed and scripted by Paul Haggis; rated R; available Feb. 19*

A grieving father (Tommy Lee Jones, in an Oscar-nominated and worthy performance) tries to find the truth behind the murder of his soldier son, just back from Iraq. This fact-based thriller—the finest of last year's political dramas—tanked at the box office, but its tough message and, even more, authentic emotion should find acolytes on DVD. **A-**



MUSIC

Vampire Weekend *Vampire Weekend; out now*

These guys are Ivy Leaguers who drop literary references into African-influenced pop—in other words, the sons and heirs of Paul Simon. The wit is certainly there, as are sneaky melodies woven from distortion-free strings and joyous bongos. Many of the songs sound the same, but then again, they sound similarly good. **A-**



Ray Davies *Working Man's Cafe; out Feb. 19*

Davies was tart in his Kinks days, but solo songs about globalization, politics and getting shot in New Orleans are positively puckering. They also lack subtlety ("Mass production in Saigon/ While auto workers laid off in Cleveland") and, worse still, melody. His concern is unquestioned, but it's not so easy to sing along with. **C**

The thing about life is that one day you'll be dead
—David Shields

60-SECOND SYNOPSIS

Story of My Death

IN 1919, WHEN HE WAS 9, David Shields' father Milt stepped on the third rail while crossing some train tracks. Using a piece of wood, a friend rescued him from electrocution as well as—with seconds to spare—an oncoming train. Decades later, Milt rammed his car into a garbage truck and walked away unharmed. At 86, he had a heart attack while playing tennis. He not only finished the set but he also won it.

Shields is both moved and baffled by the stubbornness with which his father, now 97, just refuses to die. As a meditation thereon he has written **THE THING ABOUT LIFE IS THAT ONE DAY YOU'LL BE DEAD** (Knopf, 225 pages), a double memoir—commonplace book in which he presents his and his father's life stories, lovingly encrusted with facts about aging and death (it turns out your soul doesn't weigh 21 grams after all, and your hair and nails do not keep growing post-mortem) and quotations ("After 30, a man wakes up sad every morning, excepting perhaps five or six, until the day of his death"—Emerson). The result is an edifying, wise, unclassifiable mixture of filial love and Oedipal rage. "I want him to live forever," Shields writes, "and I want him to die tomorrow."

—BY LEV GROSSMAN

The Dirtiest Trick

Republicans are about to nominate a fine human being for President. Have they no shame?

BY MICHAEL KINSLEY

REPUBLICANS HAVE PULLED SOME DIRTY TRICKS before: Swift Boats, Watergate, you name it. But this time they have gone too far. In its desperate hunger for victory at any cost, the Republican Party is on the verge of choosing a presidential candidate, John McCain, who is widely regarded (everywhere except inside the Republican Party itself) as honest, courageous, likable and intelligent.

Have they no shame?

More important: Have they no principles? In a properly functioning two-party democracy, each party is supposed to nominate a person whom members of the other party will detest. Ordinarily this is not a problem. In recent years, the basic principles of each party have been anathema to the other. If a candidate in addition has a personality that gives the opposition fits, or a few character flaws it deplores, that is gravy. Indeed, since Ronald Reagan (who last ran for office a quarter-century ago), the parties haven't even liked their own candidates all that much. The dilemma of liking the opposition candidate just hasn't arisen.

There is a word for it when a political party chooses a presidential candidate with more appeal in the opposition party than in his own. That word is *cheating*. For heaven's sake, if the Republicans want to keep the White House that badly, why don't they just nominate Hillary Clinton and be done with it?

As a lifelong Democrat, I have wallowed in the luxury of voting against some of the most unappealing politicians in American history, starting with Richard Nixon and ending (so far) with George W. Bush. I am surely going to vote against McCain, but it is going to take work, and there will be moments of doubt. This will be no fun. Doubts for independents.

Only a couple of years ago, there were noises that McCain might admit he was much too nice to be a Republican and might run for President as an independent—or even as a Democrat. Democrats swooned and said they would vote for McCain because he was "honest." McCain is perceived as authentic, which is a deeper form of honesty than mere truth-telling. He says he's antiabortion? Oh, he doesn't mean that. Among current or recent figures in American public life, only Colin Powell shares McCain's mystical ability to make liberals believe he secretly agrees with them, no matter what he

actually says. And Powell has to work at having it both ways. For McCain, it's a gift. Mitt Romney demonstrated that there are limits to how many brazen flip-flops the voters will tolerate. But when people believe you are telling the truth if you agree with them and lying if you disagree, you don't need to flip-flop.

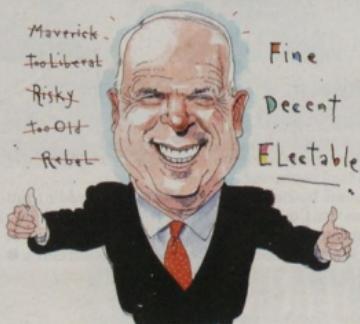
What a brilliant bluff the Republicans have been acting out these past couple of years! It's like the elaborate hoax in the movie *The Sting*. They had us convinced that their nominating process was some version of the Salem witch trials, testing the candidates for any sign of heresy and hanging or drowning the ones who flunked. Then they choose the very guy many Republicans most suspect of being a witch. If you doubt that the whole thing was staged, just consider who the runner-up was. How could a party truly dedicated to self-destruction through ideological purity end up with the choice of McCain or Romney?

If the Democrats nominate Hillary, both parties will have chosen candidates who are intensely loathed by more than a few of their own members. But the parallel stops there. McCain is widely admired among Democrats, and many Democratic Hillary haters

will be happy to vote for him. By contrast, there is no constituency for Hillary among Republicans who can't stand McCain. Nor, for that matter, will many of them vote for Barack Obama.

If it's Hillary, people's growing dislike of Bush, his horrible war, his crumbling economy, his tiresome smirk, will help McCain. Even though McCain is the candidate of the President's party and even though he is the biggest supporter of the Iraq war outside of the Administration, McCain is the one who will seem like a new broom that sweeps clean. Hillary, meanwhile, has been transformed by the Washington press corps in the past few weeks from the first woman with a serious chance of becoming President into a two-headed monster always referred to as "the Clintons."

I cannot believe that a man as fine and decent as McCain would want to become President by the underhanded tactic of accepting the nomination of a party that loves him only for his appeal to the opposition. If McCain were half the principled gentleman he pretends to be, he would drop out now in favor of Rush Limbaugh. Now there's a Republican you can sink your teeth into. ■





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